

PEKING REVIEW

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Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao Celebrate May Day With 3 Million People in Peking

Chinese Government Statement

Strongest and most emphatic protest against reactionary
Indonesian Government's anti-China violence.

Soviet Revisionist Ruling Clique Is Rank Traitor to Vietnamese Revolution

by *Renmin Ribao* Observer.

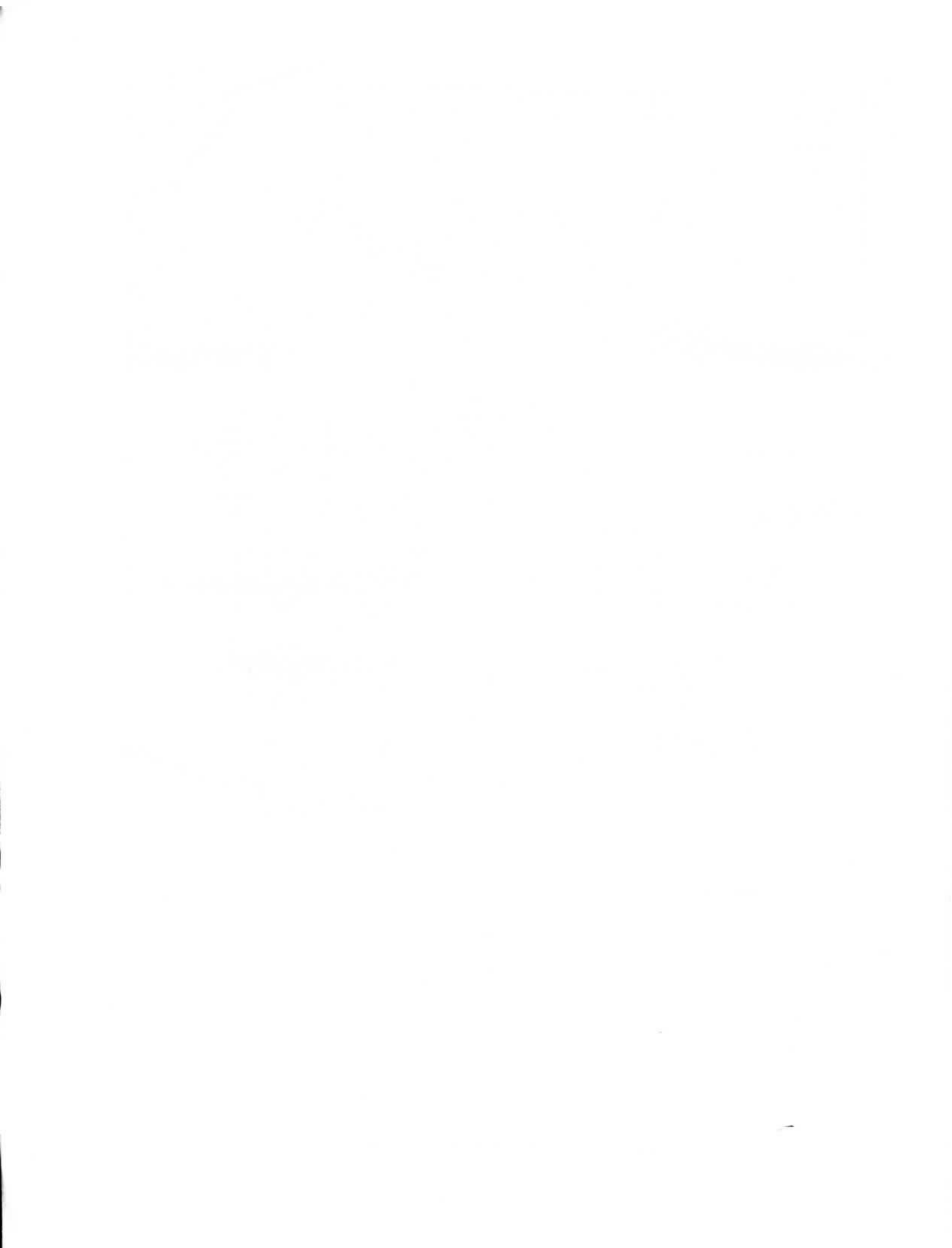
偉大的導師 偉大的領袖
偉大的統帥 偉大的舵手
毛主席萬歲！萬歲！萬歲！

林彪 一九六七年五月一日

Faesimile of an inscription written by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao. It reads:
Long live the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great
helmsman Chairman Mao! A long life to him! A long, long life to him!

Lin Piao
May Day, 1967







Our great leader Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Biao arrive to join in a May Day park celebration with Peking's revolutionary people

Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao Celebrate May Day With Three Million People in Peking

ON May 1, Chairman Mao, the most beloved and respected great leader of the Chinese and the world's people, and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao joined with three million revolutionary people in Peking to celebrate International Labour Day—a festival of solidarity and militancy of the world's proletariat and other working people.

This year's May Day came in the great upsurge of the world revolutionary people's fight against imperialism headed by the United States, against modern revisionism with the Soviet leading clique as its centre, and against the reactionaries of all countries; it came in the high tide of the Chinese people's extensive mass criticism of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. Overflowing with revolutionary zeal, the proletarian revolutionaries and the mass of revolutionary people in the capital acclaimed the great victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought and of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, fully confident that they would carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end. That Chairman Mao celebrated the occasion with the revolutionary people at such a time is the greatest support and encouragement to the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people throughout our country.

At noon, Chairman Mao and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao, driving in an open car, met the revolutionary people gathered at the Working People's Palace of Culture, Zhongshan Park and other places.

The holiday crowds of workers, peasants, Red Guards, People's Liberation Army men and other revolutionary people were elated to see Chairman Mao in such excellent health and spirits. They waved the

red book *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and cheered "Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Standing in an open car, Chairman Mao was in high spirits, smiling as he waved to the cheering crowds. He greeted the proletarian revolutionary fighters and anti-imperialist fighters from five continents.

Accompanying Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao in meeting the crowds were Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Hsieh Fu-chih, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Su Yu, Chiang Ching, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Yeh Chun and other leading comrades who drove in separate open cars.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has the greatest confidence in the people and is always at one with them. Last year, Chairman Mao received a total of 11 million Red Guards and other revolutionary students and teachers from all parts of the country.

May Day found the whole city in a revolutionary holiday mood. A huge portrait of Chairman Mao in colour hung from the Tien An Men Gate. Giant portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin facing Tien An Men on the other side of the main thoroughfare had been put up.

Red flags flew throughout the capital and music filled the air. Among the slogans in the streets and the Square were: "Workers of all countries, unite!" "Workers of all countries, unite with the oppressed peoples and nations!" "Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat!" "Long live the great proletarian cultural revolution!" "Long live the victory of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao!" "Long live the great Chinese

Communist Party!" "Long live Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought!" "Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!"

Peking's parks were gay with early summer flowers in full bloom and trees dressed in fresh new green. People sang and danced to their hearts' content. Revolutionary workers, young Red Guards and revolutionary artists presented a rich variety of theatrical items full of revolutionary zeal, which had been created in the course of the cultural revolution.

At the Working People's Palace of Culture, revolutionary factory workers and staff staged many dances to acclaim the newly founded Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. Their performances admirably expressed the workers' contribution to the seizure of power and their determination to defend it.

Together, workers, Red Guards and artists joined to sing the praises of Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in their hearts, in many artistic forms. Songs such as *The Golden Sun in Peking* and *Chairman Mao's Works Gleam With a Golden Light* drew warm response from the audience who could not help joining in.

West of Tien An Men Square, Zhongshan Park was another centre of activity. Here, revolutionary people and foreign friends watched the shows put on by the young fighters. They had prepared by themselves many items which reflected the struggles in the great cultural revolution. For example, *The Ode to the Red Guards* and *Rebellion Is Justified*.

International fighters for communism and foreign friends from all continents took part in the celebrations, joining the Chinese revolution-

ary masses in celebrating the common festival of the working class and all other labouring people throughout the world. They were warmly greeted wherever they went. They cheered in rhythm: "Mao Tse-tung — Mao Tse-tung!" Together with the Chinese revolutionary people, they read quotations from Chairman Mao's works. They joined in with the singing of Chinese revolutionary songs. For their Chinese friends, some of them sang the *Internationale*, *The East Is Red*, *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman* and *Long Live Chairman Mao*, as well as songs composed of quotations from Chairman Mao and revolutionary songs of their own countries.

Vietnamese friends from the forefront of the anti-imperialist struggle were warmly greeted by Red Guard young fighters and other revolutionary people.

Among the several thousand items staged in the different parks, many reflected the heroic struggle against imperialism and colonialism waged by the people in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Returned overseas Chinese from Indonesia were warmly applauded when they performed the opera *Down With the Indonesian Reactionaries*, which they had composed themselves to express their strong indignation at the recent towering crimes against China by the Suharto-Nasution-headed Indonesian reactionaries.

Wu Teh, Cheng Wei-shan, Fu Chung-pi and Nieh Yuan-tzu, Vice-Chairmen of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, were also with the people in the celebrations.

Chairman Mao Joins One Million People to See Fireworks

In Tien An Men Square and from the rostrum, the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his close comrade-in-arms Comrade Lin Piao joined with one million revolutionary people to spend a joyous May Day evening.

Together, they spent more than two hours with the capital's revolutionary people and revolutionary fighters from all parts of the world,



Young revolutionary fighters celebrate May Day with songs and dances

watching the fireworks display and enjoying other entertainment.

There was a joyous atmosphere of fighting solidarity in Tien An Men Square, which was bright as day under a galaxy of lights. Workers, peasants, Red Guards, revolutionary students and teachers, revolutionary cadres and the People's Liberation Armymen sat round in circles. They sang and danced to wish a long, long life to Chairman Mao, the greatest proletarian revolutionary of the present day, and to praise the victories of the world revolution won under the guidance of the brilliant thought of Mao Tse-tung.

At 8:45 p.m., the band struck up *The East Is Red* when Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Piao and other leading members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party arrived in the Square in open cars.

Hundreds of thousands of happy faces turned towards Chairman Mao, the reddest red sun in their hearts, like sunflowers facing the sun. Jumping and clapping enthusiastically, the holiday crowds cheered again and again at the top of their voices:

"Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to Chairman Mao!"

Smiling broadly, Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao waved to acknowledge the greetings of the revolutionary people in the Square.

At 9:40 p.m., Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao walked up on to the Tien An Men rostrum to watch the fireworks.

Among those on the rostrum were leading comrades of the Party's Central Committee and various circles including Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Chu Teh, Li Fu-chun, Chen Yun, Tung Pi-wu, Chen Yi, Li Hsien-nien, Tan Chen-lin, Hsu Hsiang-chien, Nieh Jung-chen, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsueh-feng, Hsieh Fu-chih, Liu Ning-i, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Su Yu and Chiang Ching.

Chairman Mao, Comrade Lin Piao and others walked from west to east along the length of the rostrum to shake hands with and express their festival greetings to leading comrades of various circles, representatives of the revolutionary masses, proletarian revolutionary fighters of fraternal Parties, anti-imperialist fighters from Asia, Africa and Latin America and

diplomatic envoys from various countries.

Received by Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao

Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao received, held cordial talks and posed for a photograph on the rostrum with members of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the delegations of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee and the Shansi Provincial Revolutionary Committee. Also present during the reception were leading members of the Party's Central Committee and various circles including Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Hsieh Fu-chih, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu, Chiang Ching, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu and Yeh Chun. These proletarian revolutionaries, who had come to the fore in the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, were eager to shake hands with Chairman Mao. Their long cherished desire to see Chairman Mao was realized. The atmosphere everywhere was one of tremendous joy.

Chairman Mao and Comrade Lin Piao received Comrades Yao Tengshan and Hsu Jen, who were recently unjustifiably ordered to leave Indonesia by the reactionary Indonesian Government. Comrade Yao Tengshan told Chairman Mao: "On behalf of all the patriotic overseas Chinese in Indonesia and all the comrades of the Chinese Embassy and consulates in Indonesia, we greet Chairman Mao and wish Chairman Mao a long, long life!" He also said that the Indonesian people cherish boundless love for Chairman Mao.

Chairman Mao held cordial talks with these two comrades. Comrades Chou En-lai, Kang Sheng and Chiang Ching were also present when Chairman Mao received them.

Among those present on the Tien An Men rostrum on May Day evening were:

Members and Alternate Members of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party: Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao, Liao Cheng-chih, Chang Ting-cheng, Hsiao Ching-kuang,

Wang Wei-chou, Teng Tzu-hui, Hsiao Keh, Chen Shao-min, Wang Chen, Tseng Shan, Wang Shu-sheng, Wei Kuo-ching, Lo Kuei-po, Chang Ching-wu, Pan Tzu-li, Shuai Meng-chi, Chang Tsung-hsun, Li Tao, Chen Man-yuan, Liu Lan-po, Wu Teh, Chang Ta-chih, Sung Shih-lun, Chung Chi-kuang, Chen Cheng-jen, Liu Chien-hsun, Chao Yi-min and Han Hsien-chu;

Members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee: Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu, Hsieh Tang-chung and Mu Hsin;

Leading members of the Chinese People's Liberation Army: Peng Shao-hui, Li Tien-yu, Wang Hsinting, Fu Chiu-tao, Hsu Li-ching, Yuan Tzu-chin, Fu Chung, Chiu Hui-tso, Chang Chih-ming, Chung Chih-ping, Lo Shun-chu, Wang Hung-kun, Wu Fa-hsien, Yu Li-chin, Huang Chih-yung, Chen Shih-chu, Tan Fu-jen, Tsui Tien-min, Chiang Wen, Huang Wen-ming, Li Chen, Li Tien-huan, Tsai Shun-li, Cheng Wei-shan, Fu Chung-pi, Chen Hsien-jui, Huang Tso-chen, Chou Shih-ti, Tung Chiu-wu, Liu Hua-ching, Hsiang Chung-hua, Li Tso-peng, Peng Fu-chiu, Li Hsin, Lu Yang, Yeh Chun, Chen Pochun, Li Man-tsun, Chin Ching-mai, Li Ying-ju, Yu Hui-yung;

Leading members of various military area commands who were in Peking: Chin Chi-wei, Liang Hsing-chu, Kan Wei-han, Hsien Heng-han, Kuo Peng, Chang Kuo-hua and Wu Tao;

Vice-Chairmen of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress: Kuo Mo-jo, Chang Chih-chung, Ngapo Ngawang-Jigme and Chou Chien-jen;

Members of the N.P.C. Standing Committee: Wang Kun-lun, Pei Shih-chang, Teng Chu-min, Lu Han, Shih Liang, Liu Ya-hsiung, Chuang Hsi-chuan, Hua Lo-keng, Yen Chi-tzu, Yang Yun-yu, Wu Yu-hsun, Chang Chun, Chen Shao-hsien, Chen Chi-yu, Chen Chi-yuan, Shao Li-tzu, Mao Yi-sheng, Lin Lan-ying, Lin Chiao-chih, Lo Shu-chang, Chi Fang, Meng Chi-mao, Chao Chiu-chang, Chao Chung-yao, Hu Tzu-ang, Hu Chueh-wen, Hu Yu-chih, Mei Kung-pin, Tung Ti-chou and Tseng Chih;

Leading members of the Supreme People's Court: Chang Chih-jiang and Tan Kuan-san;

Leading member of the Supreme People's Procuratorate: Huang Huo-hsing;

Leading members of the various departments under the Party's Central Committee and the State Council: Wang Tung-hsing, Chi Peng-fei, Yu Chiu-li, Ku Mu, Li Chen, Yang Chi-ching, Hsieh Fu-min, Chiang Yi-chen, Liu Wen-hui, Hui Chung-chuan, Kao Wen-hua, Lu Tung, Hsu Chin-chiang, Tuan Chun-yi, Wu Jung-feng, Wang Cheng, Chiu Chuang-cheng, Fang Chiang, Wang Ping-chang, Kang Shih-en, Kuang Fu-chao, Chien Chih-kuang, Chu Hsueh-fan, Wang Tzu-kang, Wu Po, Sha Chien-li, Chen Kuo-tung, Wang Lei, Lin Hai-yun, Chang Hsi-jo, Chu Tu-nan, Hu Li-chiao, Chien Hsueh-shen, Chang Pen, Wang Liang-en, Yuan Jen-yuan, Chung Min, Hsieh Yu-fa, Wang Ping, Tang Ping-chu, Tsao Yi-ou, Chao Yi-ya, Li Kuang-wen, Wang Wei-chen and Wang Tao-ming;

Vice-Chairmen of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference: Kao Chung-min, Tsai Ting-kai, Li Ssu-kuang, Fu Tso-yi, Shen Yen-ping, Hsu Teh-heng and Li Teh-chuan;

Mr. Li Tsung-jen;

Leading member of the North China Bureau of the Party's Central Committee: Chih Pi-ching;

Vice-Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee: Nieh Yuan-tzu; Standing Committee members: Liu Hsi-chang, Hsu Kai, Wang Ching-jui, Lu Wen-ko, Miao Yung-kun, Teng Wan-tien, Lo Jui-hua, Chang Kuei-fu, Liu Shao-wen, Fan Pu-chuan, Mou Li-shan, Tan Hou-lan, Kuai Ta-fu, Han Ai-ching, Wang Ta-ping, Li Tung-min, Chou Ching-fang, Ting Kuo-yu, Kao Yang-wen and Niu Lien-pi;

Members of the delegation of the Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee: Wei Chin, Wang Hsiu-chen, Li Kuo-chun, Ting Chun and Kung Hsueh-chieh;

Members of the delegation of the Shansi Provincial Revolutionary

Committee: Chen Yung-kuei, Chai Jen-wu, Wang Chin-tzu, Hsieh Chi, Wang Chin-o, Li Chin-wei, Hu Chun-ming, Chang Yin-hua, Wang Hung-ching, Tsao Shu-tien, Chia Hsiu-lan, Li Fu-tung, Wang Yung-shan and Chao Teh-su;

Heroes and models of the Chinese People's Liberation Army: Shu Chicheng, Hsu Heng-lu, Wang Shan-fu, Wu Chia-hsiang, Liao Chu-chiang, Chiao Chih-fa, Wu Chia-hsi and Chang Lin-sheng.

Yao Teng-shan and Hsu Jen, red diplomat fighters just gloriously returned from Indonesia, were also present on the rostrum.

Among the proletarian revolutionaries, anti-imperialist fighters and other foreign friends present on the rostrum were: Ralph Hegman, Head of the New Zealand Communist Party Delegation and Member of the Political Committee of the National Committee of the New Zealand Communist Party, and members of the New Zealand C.P. Delegation Basil Holmes, Mrs. Lesley Cole and Mrs. Diana Grant-Mackie; Osvaldo Pesce and Livio Risaliti, Members of the Political Bureau and of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist); Jack Scott, Chairman, and John Wood, Member, of the Central Committee of the Progressive Workers Movement of Canada; Frank Johnson, Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist) and his wife; Djawoto, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Journalists' Association; Rathe Deshapriya Senanayake, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau, and his wife; Barat Eugen, of the Rumanian Trade Delegation; Salim Said Rashid, Junior-Minister for Finance of the United Republic of Tanzania; Michel Bindi, Head of the Congolese (Brazzaville) Government Security Delegation, and his wife; Albanian friends: Vangjel Moisiu, Myfit Mushi and S.T. Dhimiter; South Vietnam cadres: Pham Hong Ky, Nguyen Van Sanh and Le Thi Tru; Vietnamese friend: Pham Trinh Can; Indonesian friends: Willy Hariandja and his wife; Japanese friends: Tatsu Tokuda, Haruko Okada,

Junichiro Ide and Katuhiro Yamamoto; Kuichiroo Nakamura and Kazuo Gunzi of the 14th Activists' Delegation of the Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox); Chiyo Nakajima and other members of the Japanese Women's Delegation from the Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox); Japanese friend: Toshio Tanaka; Rifaat A. Hasnie of the Pakistan Trade Delegation; Madame Quinim Pholsena of Laos; Guruge Kemadasa Perera and another member of the "Sangeetha Manjari" Cultural Troupe from Ceylon; Ceylonese friend: Vanithamby Kanthaswamy; Thailand friend: Kularp Saipradit; Sudanese friends: Ahmed Mohamed Kheir and his wife and Osman Hassan Ahmed; Abdel Wahab Zein El Abedein Tam and Omer Babikr Farah, leading members of the Sudan-China Friendship Association, who are visiting China; Head of the Delegation from the Rwagasore Revolutionary Youth Organization of Burundi: Francois Kisamare; Nigerian friend: Bachard Amada; American friends: Anna Louise Strong, Robert Williams and his wife, Frank Coe and his wife, Sol Adler and his wife, Sidney Ritzenberg, and Joan Hinton; Chilean friend: Edmundo Palacios; British friend: Joshua Horn; Leon Bouffard, President of "Connaissance de Chine" in Geneva, Switzerland, and his wife; Belgian friend: Serge Pairoux; Douglas Lake, a New Zealand friend; Nguyen Minh Phuong, Acting Head of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation to the People's Republic of China; Bhayom Chulanond, the Representative Abroad of the Patriotic Front of Thailand; P.V. Sarma, Chief Representative of the Mission of the Malayan National Liberation League in the People's Republic of China, and his wife; Mrs. Gerbou, wife of the Representative of the Mission of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Peking, and diplomatic envoys and officials of various countries in China.

Nationwide Celebrations

Revolutionary people throughout the country spent this joyous May

Day with boundless love for and infinite loyalty to the great leader Chairman Mao; they pledged to carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

All newspapers in China on May 1 carried a huge picture of Chairman Mao together with an inscription by Comrade Lin Piao written specially for the occasion. It reads: "Long live our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman Chairman Mao! A long life to him! A long, long life to him!"

People everywhere cheered Comrade Lin Piao's inscription as a concentrated expression of the boundless love and veneration of hundreds of millions for Chairman Mao and their infinite loyalty to and boundless faith in him; they regarded it as the most stirring song of praise of all the festival activities.

May Day rallies, parades and get-togethers took place in factories, rural people's communes, schools, government institutions and army units in Peking, Shanghai and the provincial capitals of Heilungkiang, Kweichow, Shansi and Shantung, where the proletarian revolutionaries have successfully seized power from the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road.

Holiday Entertainment

A profuse programme of entertainment shining with the splendour of Mao Tse-tung's thought is being staged in Peking.

Popular hits, including brilliant examples in various art forms of the treatment of contemporary revolutionary themes, have been produced under the personal guidance of Comrade Chiang Ching, first deputy leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee and adviser on cultural work to the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Among these are the Peking operas *Shachiapang*, *The Red Lantern* and *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold*, the ballet *The White-Haired Girl* and

(Continued on p. 29.)

Only by Emancipating the Whole of Mankind Can the Proletariat Finally Emancipate Itself

— In Celebration of "May 1," International Labour Day —

AMID the storms of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the upsurging tide of the all-out revolutionary criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, China's proletarian revolutionaries and the masses of the working people join the revolutionary people of the world in celebrating with high enthusiasm "May 1," International Labour Day—festival of the militant solidarity of the working class and of all the working people.

The great proletarian cultural revolution now under way in China is a great, world-shaking revolution without parallel in the history of the international communist movement. The theory of the great proletarian cultural revolution advanced by our great leader Chairman Mao is influencing the future and the destiny of the world just like Marx's theory of scientific socialism and Lenin's establishment of the first socialist state.

Faced by this momentous event in China, the U.S. imperialists, the Soviet modern revisionists and their followers are crying out in alarm: "An extraordinary, terrifying affair!" . . . "this is the most disquieting phenomenon of our times."

Our comrades and friends, on the other hand, hail it as "the greatest revolutionary movement in the history of the world communist movement," "a decisive contribution by Comrade Mao Tse-tung to the victory of the world revolution" and an event which "kindles hope throughout the world for the victory of communism."

Ever since the great proletarian cultural revolution began, Chairman Mao has repeatedly instructed us to **pay attention to uniting with all those who can be united with**. He has also stressed the importance of **acting in accordance with Marx's statement that only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally emancipate itself**.

The proletariat is the most progressive and the most bitterly oppressed class in human history. Its historical task is certainly not to seek its own emancipation alone, but to free the people of the whole world completely from oppression by the exploiting classes and from the spiritual fetters imposed on them for thousands of years by the exploiting classes. In transforming the objective

world, the proletariat must, at the same time, ceaselessly transform its subjective world. Only so can it finally win its own emancipation.

Only when this is understood can we gain a profound understanding of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line from the height of the proletarian world outlook, correctly solve the problem of how to treat the masses of the people and cadres, and particularly the problem of how to treat those of the masses who have been deceived and those cadres who have committed mistakes. Anyone who is only concerned about his own emancipation from the persecution of the bourgeois reactionary line and rests content with such "emancipation," anyone who does not endeavour with great eagerness to win over, educate and unite with those cadres who have committed mistakes and the people who have been misled so that they can be freed from the poisonous influence of the bourgeois reactionary line and from the spiritual fetters of "self," shows that he lacks the noble aspiration to "emancipate the whole of mankind." He is not a genuine proletarian revolutionary. Nor is it possible for such a person to achieve his own thorough emancipation.

Genuine proletarian revolutionaries never place their own emancipation above that of the masses. In the spirit of "head bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children," [a line from a poem by Lu Hsun], they take emancipation of the masses and of the whole of mankind as the only aim of their struggle. In order to realize this great aim, it is essential to follow Chairman Mao's teaching in uniting with all those who can be united with and to engage in the common struggle.

On the question of cadres, the proletarian revolutionaries should, in accordance with this principle, not only have the courage to "hit hard at a handful" but also the courage to "emancipate the many." They should take active and positive steps to do political and ideological work among the cadres and to create conditions for them to rise and make revolution. In order to help those cadres who have made mistakes to emancipate themselves, the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" should be followed. Through the cultural revolution, we should enable the mass of cadres to stand

together with the proletarian revolutionaries, to stand on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

In accordance with this principle, in the course of the all-out criticism and struggle, we should win over, educate and unite with those of the masses who were deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line. We should not only permit, but welcome and help them to rise up and make revolution. This is the only way for them to emancipate themselves from the evil influence of the bourgeois reactionary line. It is the only way to develop and strengthen the ranks of the Left, unite with the great majority of the masses, thoroughly isolate the most reactionary Rightists and win victory after victory.

The process by which the proletarian revolutionaries unite with the great majority is a process of using proletarian thought, the thought of Mao Tse-tung, to defeat bourgeois and revisionist ideas, a process of using Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to defeat the bourgeois reactionary line. It is a process by which the proletarian revolutionaries, led by Chairman Mao and the Party's Central Committee, thoroughly refute, overthrow and discredit the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. It is a process of continuous effort to establish the communist world outlook of emancipating the whole of mankind.

In order to unite with the great majority, the proletarian revolutionaries must firmly respond to Chairman Mao's great call to "support the army and cherish the people," earnestly learn from the People's Liberation Army, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, make great efforts to give prominence to proletarian politics, get a firm grasp of living ideas currently in people's minds, strengthen political and ideological work, and, on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought, form a revolutionary great alliance and a leadership which comprises a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination. The army and people must unite to

accomplish the great tasks of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "We are now in a great new era of world revolution." At the present time, in the struggle being waged by the revolutionary people of the world against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, the situation is excellent. China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the revolutionary storms in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the revolutionary struggles of the people in various countries are dealing devastating blows to the entire old world. Imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist leading clique at its centre and all other pests have already created their own grave-diggers. The day when they will be completely buried is not far off.

Proletarian internationalism is the supreme guiding principle of China's foreign policy. The 700 million Chinese people armed with the great thought of Mao Tse-tung have always taken as their own sacred international obligation support for the revolutionary struggles of the people in Asia, Africa, Latin America and countries in other parts of the world. We must unite with the Marxist-Leninists of the world, unite with the revolutionary people of the world, unite with all the oppressed nations and oppressed peoples, overthrow imperialism headed by the United States, overthrow modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist leading clique at its centre and overthrow the reactionaries of all countries. A new red world without imperialism, without capitalism and without the system of exploitation will certainly be established.

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Proletarians of all countries, unite with the oppressed peoples and oppressed nations!

(*"Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 30, 1967.*)

Chinese Government Statement

The Strongest and Most Emphatic Protest Against the Reactionary Indonesian Government's Anti-China Violence

April 26, 1967

ON April 22, 1967, directed by the reactionary Indonesian Government, hundreds of Rightist hooligans surrounded and carried out provocations against the Chinese Embassy. Again on April 23, the reactionary Indonesian Government despatched large numbers of armed troops and policemen to encircle and besiege the

Chinese Embassy and make various threats against Chinese diplomatic personnel. On the same afternoon, when Hsu Jen, the Chinese Consul-General in Djakarta, was proceeding to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry to keep an appointment, he was abducted by force of arms by the Indonesian troops and policemen as soon as he

stepped out of the Embassy gate and was forcibly escorted to the Djakarta 0503 Military District Command, where he was illegally detained for as long as eight hours. Instead of pleading guilty to the above-mentioned outrages of crudely trampling on the principles guiding international relations and seriously violating the personal freedom of Chinese diplomatic personnel, the reactionary Indonesian Government blatantly declared on April 24 Yao Ten-shan, Charge d'Affaires a.i. of the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, and Hsu Jen, Chinese Consul-General in Djakarta, "personae non gratae" and ordered them to leave the country before April 29.

This is a new peak in the reactionary Indonesian Government's recent wanton activities of opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals, and constitutes a serious provocation against the Chinese people and a major step for further sabotaging the relations between the two countries. The Chinese Government and people express their extreme indignation at this and hereby lodge the strongest and most emphatic protest with the reactionary Indonesian Government.

Since their usurpation of power through the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat in 1965, the Right-wing military clique headed by Suharto and Nasution have hired themselves out even further to U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism and made maximum efforts to sabotage the relations between China and Indonesia. They have attacked and raided Chinese diplomatic missions more than 30 times, wounded more than 40 Chinese diplomatic and consular personnel and correspondents by firing on them or beating them up, forcibly occupied more than 10 office and residential premises belonging to Chinese diplomatic missions and perpetrated a series of outrages rarely seen in the history of international relations.

In order to gain capital and so better hire itself out to U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, the reactionary Indonesian Government does not hesitate to carry out large-scale and inhuman racist persecution of the Chinese nationals who have been long residing in Indonesia. In the past year and more, everywhere they have been looting and burning the shops and houses of Chinese nationals. Everywhere they have hunted and arrested Chinese nationals and thrown tens of thousands of Chinese nationals into concentration camps and prisons. Everywhere they have fired on and killed and wounded Chinese nationals.

Recently, such persecution of Chinese nationals has become even more insensate and has spread from outside areas to Djakarta. After they had engineered the appalling Ning Hsiang-yu incident, they set loose large numbers of troops, policemen and ruffians on April 20 to assault the Chinese nationals taking part in Ning Hsiang-yu's funeral procession, thus precipitating a new and still graver incident of bloodshed. In the past five days, the Indonesian troops, policemen and ruffians have been looting, burning and slaughtering on a large scale in their persecution of Chinese nationals in Djakarta. There is no difference at all between all their outrages against Chinese nationals and the racist

atrocities committed by Hitler against the Jews in the past and by the South African racists against the Africans today.

It is entirely just for China's diplomatic representatives in Indonesia to make representations and lodge protests against the outrages perpetrated by the reactionary Indonesian Government in brutally persecuting Chinese nationals. The reactionary Indonesian Government, however, slanderously accused China's diplomatic representatives of "aggravating the relations between the two countries," declared them "personae non gratae" and ordered them to leave the country within a set time. This is confounding right and wrong and black and white; it is indeed the height of impudence and shamelessness.

Opposition to China and persecution of Chinese nationals by the reactionary Indonesian Government is by no means accidental, but is a thorough exposure of its reactionary class nature. The Right-wing military clique headed by Suharto and Nasution has first of all been reared and fed by U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism. Acting perversely, this clique regards as enemies the People's Republic of China which has consistently supported the Indonesian people's struggle against imperialism and colonialism and the Chinese nationals who have shed blood and sweat for the cause of national independence and economic construction of Indonesia; it regards as masters the U.S. imperialists who are oppressing and exploiting the Indonesian people and as friends the Soviet modern revisionists who are selling out Indonesia's national independence and acting as accomplices of imperialism. It has enforced a sanguinary fascist rule at home. In the short period of over a year, it has slaughtered hundreds of thousands of fine sons and daughters of the revolutionary Indonesian people, thrown tens of thousands of revolutionary people into jail and thus brought about a white terror which is unprecedented in history. Under its extortion and plunder, the Indonesian economy is in a state of utter chaos, prices are rocketing, the people are in great distress, and the masses of the labouring people are struggling on the verge of starvation. It has already thrown Indonesia back on the old colonial track and pushed the Indonesian nation into an abyss of disaster. The facts have proved that the Indonesian Government is an out-and-out fascist regime.

The great leader of the Chinese people Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said: "The unbridled violence of all the forces of darkness, whether domestic or foreign, has brought disaster to our nation; but this very violence indicates that while the forces of darkness still have some strength left, they are already in their death throes, and that the people are gradually approaching victory." By committing every kind of evil, the Indonesian reactionaries will inevitably accelerate the Indonesian people's revolution on a broader and more intense scale. The Indonesian people are a great revolutionary people. They have undergone much tempering in the storm and stress of struggles against both domestic and foreign reaction. They will never allow the national independence which they have won with their blood to be for-

feited by a handful of reactionaries. They will never tolerate the reactionaries riding roughshod over them. We are firmly convinced that a new revolutionary high tide is bound to arrive in Indonesia and that the Indonesian people will eventually overthrow the reactionary rule of the imperialists and their running dogs in Indonesia.

The Chinese people armed with the ever-victorious thought of Mao Tse-tung firmly support the Indonesian people in their revolutionary struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for freedom and liberation. And we are determined to provide this support. We will never waver in this just stand, however rampant the Indonesian reactionaries may be in opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals.

The struggles waged by the Chinese nationals in Indonesia, who are holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, are struggles to safeguard their proper rights and interests, the dignity of their motherland and the friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples. All patriotic overseas Chinese look upon your struggles with feelings of glory and

pride. The 700 million compatriots of the motherland vow to be your powerful backing. The Chinese Government expresses to you its deepest concern and most solicitous regards and believes that you will certainly hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and unite still more closely in the struggle to thoroughly smash the Indonesian reactionaries' plots of persecution.

There exists a profound friendship between the Chinese and Indonesian peoples. They have carried out long struggles against common enemies. However far the reactionary Indonesian Government may go in disrupting the relations between our two countries, it will only eat the bitter fruits of its own making while the friendship between our two peoples will undergo new tempering and become further strengthened in the struggle. The dark clouds now hanging over the relations between our two countries are but temporary. We are deeply convinced that, through joint struggles, the day will soon come when the sun will shine forth in full splendour.

Nation's 700 Million Support Just Struggle of Overseas Chinese in Indonesia and Indonesian People

ONE hundred thousand revolutionary people in Peking gathered at a meeting on April 27, strongly condemning and angrily denouncing the Indonesian reactionaries for their anti-China, anti-Chinese crimes, crimes further wrecking relations between China and Indonesia.

The rally, which was held at the big Workers' Stadium, was attended by workers, commune members, commanders and fighters of the three services of the People's Liberation Army, young Red Guards, and revolutionary office workers. Indignant at U.S. imperialism and Indonesian reaction, time and again they raised their fists shouting: "Down with U.S. imperialism! Down with Soviet revisionism! Down with Indonesian reaction!" "Firm support for the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people!" "Firm support for the patriotic overseas Chinese in Indonesia in their struggle against persecution!" The whole stadium was filled with intense revolutionary militancy. A Hsinhua dispatch dated April 27 described it as "a meeting of the Chinese people to accuse before the people of the whole world the Indonesian reactionaries headed by Suharto and Nasution; a meeting to open heavy fire at U.S.-led imperialism, its accomplices and lackeys; a meeting in firm support of the masses of Chinese residents in Indonesia and the Indonesian people in their just struggle."

Among those present were Hsieh Fu-chih, Vice-Premier of the State Council and Chairman of the recently inaugurated Peking Municipal Revolutionary

Committee, and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress. Others included Chao Hsiao-shou, the Chinese diplomatic personnel who had protected the five-star national flag with his blood and fought valiantly against the Indonesian reactionaries in Djakarta; representatives of the 41 returned young overseas Chinese, a heroic collective which had fought unbendingly against the U.S. imperialists and Indonesian reactionaries in Medan (see *Peking Review*, Nos. 18 and 51, 1966); and the family of the aged overseas Chinese Ning Hsiang-yu, killed recently by the Indonesian reactionaries in Djakarta (see *P.R.*, No. 18, 1967).

Revolutionary Indonesian friends in Peking were invited to the meeting. They included: Djawoto and his wife; Supeno and his wife; Isa Ibrahim and his wife; Willy Hariandja and his wife; Suar Suroso; and Rastono Darjanto.

After the rally was opened by Nieh Yuan-tzu, Vice-Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee, the 100,000 people sang *The East Is Red* and read aloud in unison the following quotation from Chairman Mao Tse-tung: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful."

Hsieh Fu-chih was the first to address the rally. He stressed that the overseas Chinese in Indonesia,

Chairman Mao's Red Diplomat Fighters Warmly Welcomed Back to Peking

Chairman Mao's two red diplomat fighters Yao Teng-shan, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Chinese Embassy in Indonesia, and Hsu Jen, Chinese Consul-General in Djakarta, returned to Peking on April 30. They were unjustifiably asked to leave Indonesia by the reactionary Indonesian Government. At Peking Airport, they received a tremendous welcome from 7,000 people, including leading comrades of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, revolutionary masses in various fields, young Red Guards and representatives of overseas Chinese who had returned from Indonesia.

Among those welcoming them were Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Premier; Chen Po-ta, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee; Kang Sheng, Member of

the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, adviser to the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Li Fu-chun, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premier; Chen Yi, Li Hsien-nien, and Tan Chen-lin, Members of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Premiers; Hsu Hsiang-chien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. and Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council; Nieh Jung-chen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, Vice-Premier and Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council; Yeh Chien-ying, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the National Defence Council; Hsieh Fu-

chih, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Party's Central Committee, Vice-Premier and Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee; Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C.; Liu Ning-I, Member of the Secretariat of the Party's Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C.; Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu and Su Yu, leading members of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Chiang Ching, first deputy leader of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee, and members of the Cultural Revolution Group Under the Party's Central Committee and the All-Army Cultural Revolution Group, as well as representatives of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee and leading members of various departments concerned.

Peking Airport was decorated with red flags and reverberated with the deafening roll of drums and sounds of gongs. Proletarian revolutionaries

holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, are sure to win victory in their valiant struggle; that the anti-China, anti-communist crimes of the Indonesian reactionaries committed in collaboration with U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism must be paid for. (An abridged text of his speech appears on p. 16.) Djawoto also took the floor. The Indonesian people, he said, are determined to use Mao Tse-tung's thought as their weapon in overthrowing the fascist regime. The just acts of self-defence of the overseas Chinese comrades, he added, have greatly inspired the struggle of the Indonesian people. (See p. 17 for an abridged text of his speech.)

Addressing the rally, Wu Chao-an, a representative of the returned overseas Chinese from Indonesia, noted that the hearts of the returned overseas Chinese are for ever linked with the hearts of the fighting overseas Chinese in Indonesia and the Indonesian people. The masses of overseas Chinese, he declared, are for ever united with the Indonesian people, fighting together with them and winning victory together.

The rally was also addressed by representatives of the Representative Conference of Peking Revolutionary Workers and Staff, the Representative Conference of Peking's Poor and Lower-Middle Peasants, the Chinese

People's Liberation Army units stationed in Peking, the Congress of Red Guards of Universities and Colleges in Peking and the Congress of Red Guards of Peking Middle Schools. The gathering unanimously expressed firm support for the April 26 Chinese Government Statement (see p. 11), pointing out that the Indonesian reactionaries, acting as thugs of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism, will come to no good end. The rally sternly warned the Indonesian reactionaries that the Chinese people are a great people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the People's Republic of China is a great monolithic country under the proletarian dictatorship, that the 700 million Chinese people firmly support the just struggle of the masses of overseas Chinese in Indonesia and the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people, and that the Indonesian reactionaries who persist in their stubborn ways will eventually not escape ruin.

The rally adopted a message of sympathy and concern to the patriotic overseas Chinese in Indonesia, encouraging them to hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, study and apply still more effectively Chairman Mao's works in a creative manner, unite even more closely with the Indonesian people, dare to struggle and be good at it, so as to smash any

and the revolutionary masses in the capital, holding aloft portraits of Chairman Mao and posters, awaited the return of the diplomat fighters. Again and again, they read aloud this quotation from Chairman Mao: "All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful." They angrily denounced the Indonesian reactionaries headed by Suharto-Nasution for their vile crimes against China. They once again warned the Indonesian reactionaries: The Chinese people, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, are not to be trifled with! You will come to no good end in collaborating with U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism in anti-China, anti-Chinese activities!

Comrades Yao Teng-shan and Hsu Jen descended from the plane holding portraits of the great leader Chairman Mao, shouting: "Long live Chairman Mao!" Comrades Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng and Li Fu-chun and foreign friends walked up and shook hands with Yao Teng-shan and Hsu Jen and warmly embraced them. Comrade Chou

En-lai praised them, saying: "You have fought well. We welcome you!" At these words, the welcoming crowd shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!"

Comrades Yao Teng-shan and Hsu Jen then went to meet the welcomers who were waving their copies of *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* and shouting: "Welcome to the diplomat fighters who have struggled heroically against the Indonesian reactionaries!" "Long live Chairman Mao! A long, long life to him!" All expressed the determination to give firm support to the patriotic Chinese nationals in Indonesia in their just struggles and to the Indonesian people in their revolutionary struggles.

Proletarian revolutionary fighters and anti-imperialist revolutionary fighters from various countries who were in Peking were also at the airport to welcome the two Chinese diplomats. Among them were: Yusuf Adjitorop, head of the delegation of the Indonesian Communist Party's Central Committee and Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party; Indonesian friends Djawoto, Supeno, Ibrahim Isa, Willy

Hariandja and his wife, Suar Suroso and Rastono Darjanto; Frank Johnson, Secretary of the Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist), and his wife; Ralph Hegman, head of the delegation of the New Zealand Communist Party and Member of the Political Committee of the National Committee of the New Zealand Communist Party; Osvaldo Pesce and Livio Risaliti, Members of the Political Bureau and the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist); Jack Scott, Chairman, and John Wood, Member of the Central Committee of the Progressive Workers Movement of Canada; American friends Robert Williams, Sidney Rittenberg, Frank Coe and Ruth Coe; and Japanese friends Junichiro Ide, Kazuko Ide and Haruko Okada. Also present were diplomatic officials of the Embassies of Albania, Vietnam, Cuba, Korea, Syria and Cambodia in China; the chief representative of the Mission of the Malayan National Liberation League in China, and a member of the Permanent Mission of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation in China.

attack by the Indonesian reactionaries to bits and strive for final victory.

On the day of the meeting *Renmin Ribao* published an editorial entitled "The Indonesian Reactionaries' Rabid Opposition to China Will Surely Boomerang." The editorial read in part: "The Chinese people have always cherished friendly and fraternal feelings towards the Indonesian people. The two peoples have cemented a close, militant friendship in the protracted struggles against imperialism. U.S. imperialism and the Indonesian reactionaries are doomed to failure in their attempt to wreck this great friendship by frantically committing anti-China and anti-Chinese atrocities."

The successive anti-China and anti-Chinese waves by Indonesian reaction have provoked the revolutionary masses in the Chinese capital to immense anger. Beginning from April 24, contingents of demonstrators paraded to the Indonesian Embassy in Peking to make accusations, lodge protests and serve warnings; by April 28, the number of demonstrators had exceeded 600,000. Among them were the son and daughter-in-law of Ning Hsiang-yu, Chao Hsiao-shou, workers, peasants, Red Guards, revolutionary teachers and students and revolutionary cadres. A number of Indonesian students

studying in China also demonstrated outside the Embassy. They posted signs on its walls which said: "Down with the stooge of U.S. imperialism Nasution!" "Down with Suharto!" "Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guarantee guiding the Indonesian people's revolution to victory!" "The Indonesian people are devoted to Chairman Mao!"

Revolutionary masses and returned overseas Chinese in many provinces and municipalities in the country also held meetings and demonstrations. In Kwangchow, south China, several hundred thousand people met on April 27 and 28 to denounce Indonesian reaction. Patriotic overseas Chinese, compatriots from Hongkong and Macao and some foreign friends who were attending the semi-annual Chinese Export Commodities Fair also joined in the demonstration on the 28th. Mass rallies and mammoth demonstrations took place elsewhere in the country, including Shanghai and Tsingtao on the east China coast, Harbin, Changchun and Shenyang in the northeast, Taiyuan in north China, Kweiyang in the southwest, Nanning in south China, and as far off as Lhasa in the Tibet region and Urumchi in the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region.

Comrade Hsieh Fu-chih's Speech*

SINCE it usurped power by a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat, the Indonesian Right-wing military clique headed by Suharto and Nasution has brutally suppressed the people and enforced fascist rule at home, and has internationally hired itself out to U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism and frantically opposed China and persecuted Chinese nationals. The countless crimes committed by this handful of reactionaries against the people of Indonesia, China and the rest of the world are unpardonable, and they will definitely be punished.

In the past year and more, the reactionary Indonesian Government has perpetrated a series of outrages against China. This is a grave provocation against the 700 million Chinese people as well as the revolutionary people of the whole world.

For more than a year, the reactionary Indonesian Government has frantically persecuted the several million innocent Chinese nationals on an unprecedented scale. This can only arouse the boundless wrath of the Chinese people and the strong condemnation by the people of the world.

The reactionary Indonesian Government recently has whipped up a new adverse current of opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals. It engineered the outrageous incident of shooting and killing overseas Chinese youths in Situbondo, East Java, and plundering Chinese nationals all over the city. In the meantime, it once again pointed its spearhead against our Embassy, organizing hooligans to attack it and sending troops and policemen to surround it, abducted and detained by force of arms our Consul-General, and even brazenly declared the expulsion of our Charge d'Affaires a.i. and Consul-General. These increasingly rampant actions of opposing China and persecuting Chinese nationals by the reactionary Indonesian Government serve to show that it is determined to set itself against the Chinese people and to thoroughly wreck relations between the two countries and the friendship and unity of the two peoples. The Chinese Government has issued a statement expressing the just stand of our country on this matter. We firmly back and support that statement. We want to tell the Indonesian reactionaries in all seriousness: the Chinese people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are not to be trifled with. There is a limit to our forbearance. You will absolutely come to no good end by wilfully taking a perverse course.

The Indonesian Right-wing military clique headed by Suharto and Nasution is a lap-dog reared by U.S. imperialism and Soviet modern revisionism and has come to power through the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat they supported. The traitorous deals by the In-

donesian reactionaries are increasingly tying Indonesia to the war chariot of U.S. imperialism and have thrown the country back on the old colonial track. At home, it has enforced fascist rule and has been carrying out an unprecedented extensive suppression, slaughter and arrest of the Indonesian people. Hundreds of thousands of fine sons and daughters of the Indonesian people have fallen under its butcher's knife. And tens of thousands of Indonesian patriots are subjected to ruthless persecution in prisons. All this shows that the Suharto-Nasution regime is the most reactionary, the most rotten and the most tyrannical regime in Indonesian history.

By working in collusion with U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism to oppose China, oppose communism, oppose revolution and oppose the people, the Indonesian reactionaries are bound to end up by "lifting a rock only to drop it on their own feet." As Chairman Mao has said: "In the final analysis, their [the reactionaries in all countries] persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale." It is precisely because of this that the broad masses of the Chinese nationals in Indonesia, holding high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, are waging a heroic struggle to defend themselves against persecution and plunder. They are certainly not isolated in their struggle. They have the sympathy and support of the Indonesian people. They have the great socialist motherland as their powerful backing. The 700 million compatriots are their staunch support. They are bound to win final victory.

The hearts of the Chinese and Indonesian peoples are linked together. We extend our deep sympathy and firm support to the Indonesian people in their arduous struggle. The Indonesian reactionaries may run rampant for a time, but in the final analysis, they can only serve as teachers by negative example. Their persecution of the revolutionary people can only speed up the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses of people to a more intense scale. The Indonesian people will certainly smash the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in Indonesia. Indonesia will certainly become a revolutionary Indonesia.

Chairman Mao has said: "The present world situation is such that the two major forces, revolution and counter-revolution, are locked in final struggle." On the one hand, there is the alliance of the counter-revolutionary forces of the world which is mounting frenzied, desperate counter-attacks on the revolutionary people. On the other hand, there is the great alliance of the revolutionary people of the world, which is launching an irresistible general offensive against U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries.

* Abridged text.

U.S. imperialism is the big chieftain of the world counter-revolutionary alliance. It is stepping up its collaboration with the Soviet revisionist leading clique and gathering all kinds of sinister forces for desperate struggles. They are trying to form a new holy alliance against China, against communism, against revolution and against the people. But U.S. imperialism is a paper tiger, so is Soviet revisionism and all the more so is Indonesian reaction. All of them together are still paper tigers. Far from indicating their strength, this alliance of counter-revolution only serves to expose their own weakness. However much they collaborate with and depend on each other, they will not escape their final doom.

China, with her 700 million people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, is the nucleus of the great alliance

of the revolutionary people of the world. The infinitely radiant thought of Mao Tse-tung is shining over the whole world and lighting up the path of liberation for the peoples of all countries. China's world-shaking great proletarian cultural revolution is inspiring the oppressed peoples and nations to rise in revolution and to rebel powerfully against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against modern revisionism and against the reactionaries of all countries. We are now in the midst of a new great era of world revolution.

As Chairman Mao has put it: "People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs! People of the world, be courageous, dare to fight, defy difficulties and advance wave upon wave. Then the whole world will belong to the people. Monsters of all kinds shall be destroyed."

Comrade Djawoto's Speech*

In Indonesia, the fascist military regime led by Suharto-Nasution holds sway, carrying out bloody suppression against the Indonesian people. It is this same regime which has fanned up extremely savage anti-China activities and anti-Chinese racism.

The Indonesian people condemn and resist the racist savagery perpetrated against Chinese nationals in Djakarta and elsewhere by thugs in the service of the Indonesian fascist regime.

Actions taken in self-defence by overseas Chinese comrades in Situbondo, Djakarta and other places are correct and just and have been a great encouragement to the Indonesian people in their struggle.

The Indonesian people have the duty to arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought, and they are determined to overthrow this regime. This is not only our obligation, but also in keeping with the laws of historical development. No force can prevent the people's struggle from rising and growing. This struggle will eventually end in the overthrow of the fascist regime.

The Indonesian people have found the way to smash this fascist clique. It is the road of people's war, the road of Mao Tse-tung.

We express our greatest thanks for the sympathy and solidarity shown us by progressive forces the world over, especially by the people of China led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

The condemnation of the Indonesian fascist military regime by the progressive people of the whole world

will hasten its downfall. This too will hasten the collapse of one of the links of imperialism in Asia.

To achieve its criminal objectives, the Indonesian fascist military regime has most brutally suppressed the Indonesian people, Communists and non-Communists, men and women, adults and youth. It has been no less cruel than Hitler whom the whole world cursed. It has massacred hundreds of thousands of people and has imprisoned hundreds of thousands. Everywhere it tries to hunt and detain people. And at the same time, it practises terrorism against the overseas Chinese comrades.

Now this handful of fascist generals in power have pawned our country to U.S. imperialism. They have drawn our motherland which is rich in resources, populous and strategically located, into the orbit of the global strategy of U.S.-led imperialism. As is well known, its main target is China, the world's strongest bastion in the anti-imperialist struggle.

Overseas Chinese comrades or Indonesian citizens of Chinese descent have in general lived in friendship with the Indonesian people for decades and centuries, but now they have been subjected to terrorism practised by the bandits organized by the Indonesian fascist regime.

The Indonesian people are greatly indignant and condemn the plunder, extortion, arson, persecution and murder perpetrated against Chinese nationals. Over and above all this, the Indonesian fascist military regime has trampled upon all norms in diplomatic relations.

The fascist regime of Indonesia has fanned up racism in order to sidetrack the people's indignation, to divert attention from its ever growing difficulties and contradictions. It is trying to find a scapegoat and has there-

* Abridged text.

fore staged provocations against China, serving imperialism by doing so.

The Soviet modern revisionist clique is supporting this enemy of the people. It has all along been giving the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime military and economic aid, and is actively trying to split the revolutionary ranks in Indonesia by spreading its modern revisionist ideology. This Soviet modern revisionist clique should be cursed!

This rabid conduct of the Indonesian fascist group is bound to meet with growing and extensive resistance.

Such is the logical result of their suppression and betrayal of the people.

Neither a thousand imperialisms nor a thousand modern revisionist cliques can save the Suharto-Nasution fascist regime from collapsing. The Indonesian people and Chinese nationals will unite to fight against persecution by the military fascist regime. Along with the people of all the countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the Indonesian people have risen to fight against imperialism and its henchmen and they will certainly sweep them all from the soil of Indonesia.

Soviet Revisionist Ruling Clique Is Rank Traitor to Vietnamese Revolution

by OBSERVER

THE Soviet revisionist ruling clique headed by Brezhnev and Kosygin recently took advantage of the platform provided by the 7th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to make unbridled and wild attacks on China in connection with the Vietnam question, alleging that aid to Vietnam could not be "more effective" because China opposed "united action" with it.

Ulbricht and other faithful followers of the Soviet revisionists also beat the drum for them and flagrantly vilified China at the congress.

The very fact that these Soviet revisionists once again picked up the time-worn signboard of "united action" is proof that they are at the end of their rope. On the Vietnam question, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has more and more clearly revealed its contemptible features as a handful of notorious renegades and scabs. It will never succeed in attempting to conceal its monstrous crimes with the hackneyed phrases about "united action."

This clique began betraying the Vietnamese people as early as when Khrushchov was in power, tried to make deals with the U.S. imperialists on the Vietnam question, and encouraged them in launching aggression against Vietnam with a free hand. Now, it has gone even further. It has not only encouraged but has also helped U.S. imperialism in countless ways to extinguish the raging flames of the Vietnamese people's revolutionary struggle.

Let us look at the facts.

As soon as Brezhnev and Kosygin assumed office and before they had even time to settle down, they

hurriedly colluded with U.S. imperialism and betrayed Vietnam.

In January 1965, the Soviet Government, on Washington's instructions, transmitted to the Democratic Republic of Vietnam the peremptory U.S. demand for an end to the north Vietnamese people's support for the south Vietnamese people.

On February 6, Kosygin visited Hanoi. There he had the impudence to declare that he would help the United States "to find a way out in Vietnam."

On February 16, directly upon Kosygin's return to Moscow, the Soviet Government proposed the holding of a new international conference, "without any pre-conditions," on the Indo-China question. This proposal was in fact the precursor of Johnson's "unconditional discussions" fraud.

Thus, Brezhnev and Kosygin from the very beginning made it clear to the United States by these three actions that they were willing to do their utmost to serve U.S. imperialism on the Vietnam question, and that they would give it greater help than Khrushchov did.

What happened is exactly this: in the more than two years since then, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique has worked hand in glove with U.S. imperialism, followed it at every step and co-ordinated with it closely on a series of conspiratorial activities of unscrupulously and repeatedly resorting to the "peace talks" fraud and alternating this with war blackmail.

1. On May 12, 1965, the United States used the "bombing halt" trick for the first time. The idea originated with the Soviet revisionist ruling clique. In

a note to the Communist Parties of a number of countries shortly before the bombing halt, it stated clearly that it was in favour of negotiations with the United States provided the United States stopped its bombing of north Vietnam.

2. On December 24, 1965, the United States "halted bombing" for the second time and then released its so-called "14 points" to induce "peace talks" through a bombing halt. Before the United States announced this manoeuvre, it had made known its decision to the Soviet Union. Directly afterwards, the Soviet revisionists announced the dispatch of a delegation headed by Shelepin to visit Vietnam. Even Lyndon Johnson said that as the bombing halt was proposed by the Soviet revisionist ruling clique through its Ambassador Dobrynin, it was to be called the "Dobrynin bombing halt."

3. On January 31, 1966, the United States resumed bombing. At the same time, it put forward a "resolution" in the U.N. Security Council on "immediate and unconditional discussion." In the latter part of February, Kosygin met with British Prime Minister Wilson in Moscow to engineer "peace talks" and they shouted in unison that "military means cannot solve the Vietnam question."

4. On March 29, 1966, the United States, through Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, proposed the convening of a new Geneva conference for another try at peddling the "peace talks" fraud. Subsequently, Kosygin conferred with Indira Gandhi in Moscow. After the talk, Indira Gandhi said that she had conferred with the Soviet leader on the convening of "a conference" "on the basis of the Geneva agreements."

5. On June 29, 1966, the United States took the outrageous step of bombing Hanoi and Haiphong, having served prior notice to the Kremlin. At the same time, Johnson and Rusk openly called on the Soviet revisionist ruling clique to convene the Geneva conference to help the United States "end the Vietnam war." The Soviet revisionist chieftains followed this up by holding talks with the leaders of Canada, India and Britain and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. The Soviet-Canadian joint communique urged the "re-convening of the Geneva conference," while the Soviet-Indian joint communique claimed that "the solution of the problem of Vietnam can be found only within the framework of the Geneva agreements."

6. In September 1966, the U.S. delegate to the United Nations put forward the "three-point proposal" in the General Assembly and brazenly called for the "good offices of the Soviet Union." Gromyko immediately jumped to his feet with a pledge of Soviet willingness to "co-operate." Subsequently, in his talk with Johnson in the White House, Gromyko advised that, if only the United States would "stop bombing north Vietnam," a settlement to the question could be found. After that, Johnson declared with elation: "I have never felt more encouraged."

7. In the latter part of October 1966, the United States called together all its satellites in its war of aggression against Vietnam for a gangsters' meeting in Manila with a view to forcing "peace talks" through war. At the same time, the Soviet revisionist ruling clique also called a meeting of the leaders of some East European countries in Moscow. According to a U.S. news agency dispatch from Moscow, that meeting was "part of . . . Soviet efforts to settle the war."

8. In the early days of December 1966, the United States repeatedly bombed Hanoi. The U.S. delegate to the United Nations followed this up with a letter to U.N. Secretary-General, U Thant, urging him to help the United States realize "peace talks." Just before the U.S. began the bombing of Hanoi, Soviet Vice-Foreign Minister Kuznetsov had paid a hurried visit to New York to urge U Thant to intervene on the Vietnam question and expressed Soviet willingness to "persuade" the Vietnamese people "to come to the conference table."

9. In February 1967, during the "tet truce" in Vietnam, the United States once again used the trick of halting bombing to induce "peace talks." Prior to that, the Soviet revisionist chieftains and their propaganda agencies, in close co-ordination with Washington, had stirred up an evil wind lasting several months, for stopping the bombing to get "peace talks" going. After the United States halted the bombing, Kosygin rushed to London and proclaimed there that, if the United States "would stop bombing the Democratic Republic of Vietnam," the various sides concerned "would come to the conference table." Under these circumstances, the United States demanded "reciprocal action" on the part of the Vietnamese people in exchange for U.S. halting of its bombing of north Vietnam. During the Soviet-British talks which were held by remote control from Washington, Kosygin made earnest efforts to help the United States realize its monstrous plot of "peace talks."

10. On March 20 and 21, 1967, Johnson called the Guam conference to plan further expansion of the war of aggression against Vietnam in an attempt to force capitulation through war. Around this period, Kosygin received the U.S. Ambassador in Moscow, and Rusk met with the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, for confidential talks on the Vietnam question. Meanwhile, the Soviet revisionist delegate to the United Nations conferred time and again with the U.S. delegate and the U.N. Secretary-General. Soon afterwards, U Thant's "three-step proposal" which was a new product of U.S.-Soviet conspiracy, was made public.

All this is incontrovertible evidence which the Soviet revisionist ruling clique can never deny, try as it may. A mass of facts has proved that, for more than two years, this clique has never stopped taking "united action" with U.S. imperialism. The hand of the Soviet revisionists is seen in all the plots hatched by U.S. imperialism during this period, including that of halting bombing to induce "peace talks," forcing "peace talks" through war, and forcing capitulation through war.

It is the Soviet revisionists who have most eagerly helped the U.S. imperialists to peddle their peace swindles and encouraged and connived at their war blackmail. It is they who have fraternized with the U.S. imperialists, passed on information to them, given them advice and suggestions, acted as their brokers and run all kinds of errands for them. They have done all this so conscientiously and so indefatigably that they are truly worth the title of No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism.

Why are they so eager in trying, together with U.S. imperialism, to coax and coerce the Vietnamese people into accepting "peace talks" when U.S. imperialism is entrenched on one half of the territory of Vietnam, barbarously suppressing the revolutionary struggle of the south Vietnamese people and continually escalating its aggressive war in Vietnam, and when the Vietnamese people are winning tremendous victories in their heroic war of resistance? The answer is simple: they want the heroic Vietnamese people to lay down their arms, stop their resistance, bend the knee and capitulate to U.S. imperialism.

Isn't this undisguised opposition to a just national revolutionary war? Isn't this tantamount to asserting that U.S. imperialism is free to kill and burn in Vietnam while the Vietnamese people are not allowed to resist? Isn't this gross betrayal of the interests of the Vietnamese people?

About 50 years ago, the great Lenin denounced those old-line revisionists who refused to support the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples as "agents of the bourgeoisie" and "scoundrels and traitors." But now, the Soviet revisionist rulers have not only failed to support the revolution of the Vietnamese people but have also actively helped U.S. imperialism strangle this revolution. They are therefore thoroughgoing scabs and doubly scoundrels and traitors.

To achieve national liberation and the reunification of their fatherland, the Vietnamese people have struggled for nearly a century. Especially during and after World War II, they took up arms to drive away the Japanese militarists and French colonialists and founded the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. In south Vietnam, they have been fighting against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys for the last eight years, making great sacrifices, and have now brought about an excellent situation. The day eagerly awaited by the 31 million Vietnamese people is drawing ever nearer when south Vietnam will be liberated and the whole country reunified. However, the Soviet revisionist rulers have come out with the demand that the Vietnamese people should renounce their national aspirations for whose fulfilment they have striven at heavy sacrifice to themselves for a hundred years, abandon their compatriots in the south, and let them once again sink into the dark abyss of colonial oppression and become slaves of imperialism. If this should come to pass, then there

would be the danger that socialist north Vietnam will be lost too and all the fruits of the Vietnamese people's revolution forfeited and destroyed overnight. The Soviet revisionist ruling clique is the sinister enemy of the Vietnamese national-liberation cause.

Let us tell the Moscow gentlemen sternly: under no circumstances will we take any "united action" with you who are a pack of rank traitors to the Vietnam revolution, shameless scabs serving as advisors to U.S. imperialism and top accomplices of the U.S. imperialists in their efforts to stamp out the flames of the Vietnamese national revolutionary war. This was so in the past, it is so now and will remain for ever so in future. Only by thoroughly exposing you as rank traitors, scabs and accomplices and waging an uncompromising struggle against your capitulationist and treacherous activities can we truly give revolutionary support and assistance to the Vietnamese people's cause of resisting U.S. aggression and saving their country. Only thus can we truly fulfil our proletarian internationalist obligations.

There are a number of people in the world who call themselves Communists but, instead of standing on the side of the heroic Vietnamese people, parrot the line of the Soviet revisionists and spare no efforts to preach "united action" with them. They are trying by every conceivable means to drag this No. 1 accomplice of U.S. imperialism into the international anti-U.S. united front. This is actually helping U.S. imperialism to undermine and disintegrate this united front.

An international anti-U.S. united front which is real but not false, broad but not narrow, must not include the Soviet revisionist ruling clique and all other accomplices and pawns of U.S. imperialism. Otherwise, it will not be an anti-U.S. united front, but rather a pro-U.S. united front.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance for the revolution." We must unite with our real friends in order to attack our real enemies. This is a question on which there must be no ambiguity.

Innumerable facts in the international class struggle in recent years have shown that the Soviet revisionists, who are a pack of traitors and scabs, have played their role of undermining the revolutionary struggle of the peoples, a role which can be played neither by imperialism, nor the reactionaries of all countries, nor the Right-wing social democratic parties in the capitalist countries. To oppose U.S. imperialism, it is imperative to oppose the Soviet revisionist ruling clique, and to overthrow U.S. imperialism, it is also imperative to overthrow this clique!

Vietnam is the focus of the anti-U.S. struggle of the people of the world today. The great victories won by the Vietnamese people in their war of resisting U.S. aggression and saving the country are an inspiration to all the oppressed nations and people of Asia, Africa,

Latin America and the whole world in their revolutionary struggles. U.S. imperialism is drawing near its doom in Vietnam, and it is being tightly encircled by the revolutionary peoples in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the whole world. However much U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism may take "united

action," they cannot save themselves from their doom. The revolutionary torrent of the people of the world will surely break the dam of the reactionary forces and sweep away all kinds of ghosts and monsters.

(*"Renmin Ribao," April 30.*)

红旗
HONGQI

Warmly Respond to the Call to Support The Army and Cherish the People

THE Chinese People's Liberation Army is a great revolutionary army personally built up by Chairman Mao and directly commanded by Comrade Lin Biao. It is a highly proletarianized and highly militant revolutionary army that holds high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The People's Liberation Army performed immortal feats for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat in the past. Today, it is making a new tremendous contribution to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In active response to the great call of Chairman Mao, commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army have played a significant role and achieved important successes in the work of supporting the broad masses of the Left and in the work of assisting industrial and agricultural production, exercising military control and carrying out military and political training.

They have assisted the proletarian revolutionaries politically and ideologically, bringing to the broad masses of the revolutionary people the experience of the Liberation Army in giving prominence to politics and in the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works; bringing to them its fine traditions of upholding the "four-firsts"¹ and the "three-eight" working style²; bringing to them its high sense of organization and discipline. They have helped the proletarian revolutionaries arm their minds with Mao Tse-tung's thought, overcome by their own conscious acts the wrong tendencies of anarchism, "small group" mentality, seeking the limelight and individualism and accelerate the revolutionization of their ideology, thus raising the political and ideological level and the ability to struggle of the broad masses of the revolutionary people. They have done a great deal of political work to give a strong stimulus to the formation of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, and established a new revolutionary order.

They have assisted the revolutionary people and revolutionary cadres in the localities in firmly carrying out Chairman Mao's policy of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production," so that a firm grip has been taken on all the work in industrial and agricultural production, transport and communications, and finance and trade, thus shattering the criminal schemes hatched by a handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road which vainly tried to sabotage the socialist economy. New order in production has been established and an excellent situation has emerged on the economic front.

In their practical struggle to give support to the proletarian revolutionaries in the localities, they have set many fine examples and acquired valuable experience. This is of very great importance in enabling the People's Liberation Army to give even more effective assistance to the proletarian revolutionaries in carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

It is because of this that the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army enjoy the warm support and love of the broad masses of the revolutionary people.

¹The "four-firsts" are: First place must be given to man in handling the relationship between man and weapons; to political work in handling the relationship between political and other work; to ideological work in relation to routine tasks in political work; and, in ideological work, to the living ideas in a person's mind, as distinguished from ideas in books. That is to say, first place to man, first place to political work, first place to ideological work and first place to living ideas.

²The "three-eight" working style: The Chinese People's Liberation Army, under the leadership of the Communist Party and Chairman Mao, has fostered a fine tradition. This tradition is summed up by Chairman Mao in three phrases and eight additional characters, meaning firm, correct political orientation; a plain, hard-working style; flexibility in strategy and tactics; and unity, alertness, earnestness and liveliness. — Tr.

The People's Liberation Army's support for the Left, for industrial and agricultural production and their work of military control and military and political training are its new historical tasks. In the course of carrying out these tasks, the commanders and fighters have done a great amount of work by studying Chairman Mao's works in a creative way and firmly grasping the general orientation of struggle. Their achievements form the essential and main aspect.

Chairman Mao has said: "The way these comrades look at problems is wrong. They do not look at the essential or main aspects but emphasize the non-essential or minor ones. It should be pointed out that these non-essential or minor aspects must not be overlooked and must be dealt with one by one. But they should not be taken as the essential or main aspects, or we will lose our bearings." We must bear this teaching of Chairman Mao's firmly in mind.

At the present stage in which the proletarian revolutionaries are forming alliances to seize power, the spearhead of the attack should be concentrated on the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, refuting and discrediting them completely, and thoroughly smashing their conspiracy to restore capitalism in China, so as to guarantee that our country will never change its colour. This is a most important task confronting the entire Party and the entire army and revolutionary people throughout the country. In order to accomplish this task, it is imperative, under the banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to cement closer ties between the army and the people, and further strengthen their unity.

Chairman Mao recently sent out the call to support the army and cherish the people. All commanders and fighters, and the vast numbers of the revolutionary people and revolutionary cadres should warmly respond to this militant call. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the question of supporting the army and cherishing the people is, on the one hand, a question of the correct treatment of the People's Liberation Army by the revolutionary people and, on the other, a question of the correct treatment of the revolutionary people by the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army.

Chairman Mao says: "Without a people's army the people have nothing." This is true both in the years when the proletariat was seizing political power and under the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The People's Liberation Army is the mainstay of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the staunch supporter of the proletarian revolutionaries. The revolutionary people must treat the People's Liberation Army correctly and must support it. They must actively support and assist the revolutionary actions of the commanders and fighters of the Liberation Army, take the initiative in helping them do the work well of supporting the Left, assisting industrial and agricultural production and exercising military control and carry-

ing out military and political training, and modestly learn from them. Criticism of their supporting work may be sent to the higher authorities or they may be criticized face to face. But this criticism must be well-intentioned and true to fact. At no time and in no circumstances should the spearhead of attack be directed against the People's Liberation Army.

Chairman Mao says: "The army must become one with the people so that they see it as their own army. Such an army will be invincible." The commanders and fighters of the Liberation Army must treat the revolutionary masses correctly and must cherish the people. They must cherish the enthusiasm of the people and respect their initiative in the great proletarian cultural revolution, listen to their opinions with an open mind and consult with them whenever problems arise, give resolute and powerful support to all their revolutionary actions and deal telling blows at the handful of class enemies. They should wholeheartedly help the revolutionary people overcome their shortcomings and correct their errors in the movement. At the same time, in case they supported the wrong side for a time, this should be corrected promptly. Criticism from the masses should be welcomed in accordance with the principle of "blame not the speaker but be warned by his words"; it does not matter even if some of the criticism from the masses goes a bit too far. When our army identifies itself even more closely with the people and listens to the criticism of the people more modestly, it will be able to understand the world more correctly and transform the world.

Recently, **Chairman Mao has instructed us that we must have faith in and rely on the masses, have faith in and rely on the People's Liberation Army and have faith in and rely on the great majority of the cadres.** These three faiths and three reliances, as taught by Chairman Mao, are irrefutable truth. Neither the army nor the civilians should waver in the least with regard to these three faiths and three reliances. Whoever casts doubt upon these or upon any one of them, will commit the gravest mistakes.

Commanders and fighters, revolutionary people and revolutionary cadres, let us unite still closer under the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, learn from and support one another, thoroughly overthrow the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and eliminate every vestige of the pernicious influence of the bourgeois reactionary line. Let us victoriously fulfil the great historic tasks of struggling against and overthrowing those persons in authority who are taking the capitalist road, of criticizing and repudiating the reactionary bourgeois academic "authorities" and the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and of transforming education, literature and art and all other parts of the superstructure not in correspondence with the socialist economic base, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the very end.

("Hongqi" editorial, No. 6, 1967.)



Mao Tse-tung's Thought

Lights the Whole World

World's People Unite Under the Banner Of Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Friends in Africa and West Asia have spoken from the bottom of their hearts of their love and respect for the great leader Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Some of the contents in their letters and talks follow.

Simon, a young man in the Congo (Brazzaville), wrote to a Chinese friend: "Chairman Mao is not only in the hearts of the Chinese people but also in mine!" He said: "I wish him a long, long life!"

He wrote that thanks to the constant study of the thought of the respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, he came to understand that "with Mao Tse-tung's thought, we shall crush all the plots of the imperialists, colonialists and reactionaries; whatever the difficulties, with Chairman Mao's thought, we shall overcome them."

Etienne, a Congolese (Kinshasa), wrote to his Chinese friends: "There is only one most beloved revolutionary leader in the world, that is Chairman Mao Tse-tung." He said with great warmth: "Our great leader, our most respected and beloved great Chairman Mao is the red sun in the hearts of the people of the world. Like the sun, the thought of our great teacher will shine for ever."



Students of Osaka Japan-China Friendship Institute singing *Sailing the Seas Depends on the Helmsman*

Etienne wrote that the revolutionary people the world over love the great Chairman Mao "because his thought gives us the courage to fight against all evil-doers, because his thought makes us dare to overcome all obstacles." He pointed out that Mao Tse-tung's thought encourages the revolutionary people of the world to wipe out all the imperialists, revisionists and colonialists. He said: "The imperialists and revisionists are opposed to China because China, under the leadership of Chairman Mao, is leading the world revolution."

An Arab youth, Tawili, in his letter warmly acclaimed Mao Tse-tung's thought as the beacon illuminating the road of advance for the world's revolutionary people. He said that he wanted to express his highest respect and thanks to the great leader Mao Tse-tung whose great thought is the motive force of the oppressed peoples in destroying the old world and defeating imperialism.

Thanks to Mao Tse-tung's works and thought, he went on, China has made spectacular progress in the short span of less than two decades and has won the heartfelt admiration of mankind. Chairman Mao Tse-tung advises the people how to make revolution; he is the best teacher whom every revolutionary loves from the bottom of his heart. By conscientiously studying Mao Tse-tung's works, following his teachings and acting according to his instructions, the revolutionary people of the world will eventually be able to bury imperialism headed by the United States, destroy the old world and build a new one.

He wrote that China is fortunate to have such a great leader and for this all oppressed nations, too, feel fortunate and happy.

An African friend in Syria, Omar, hailed Chairman Mao Tse-tung as "the only great leader of the working people of the world and of every revolutionary fighter." He said that "uniting under the banner of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the oppressed peoples of the whole world certainly can liquidate international imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries."

"We have a common aim, that is, to bury imperialism all over the world, and the day is not far off," he concluded.

To the Great Red Sun in the East

by Daung Ne-Kya (Burma)

In China,
Vicious feudalism, imperialism
And bureaucratic capitalism, the three heavy
mountains,
Represented by the Chiang Kai-shek clique,
the traitors,
Over-burdened the Chinese people,
Who were made poor and starving,
And whose lot was worse than hell!

For the liberation
Of the people and the country,
Comrade Mao Tse-tung led in
The establishment of the Communist Party.
And the earth shook
With acclamation!

To rise against and overthrow
The tyrannical rulers who were powerful in arms
By the people who were unarmed,
Mao Tse-tung forged the strategic line of people's war.

With this strategic line
The great Chinese people overthrew their enemies —
The Japanese aggressors, the U.S. imperialists
And the Chiang gang —
And opened a new era
By establishing the People's Republic of China.

Like the great sun in the east,
Rises up radiant
The great New China.

Today,
Ferocious U.S. imperialism,
The enemy of the world,
Is provoking war and committing

Aggression and interference everywhere,
To trample on the people
And dominate the world.

Today
In the Soviet Union, founded by Lenin,
The traitor-degenerate leaders
Have gone down the wrong road
To ally with imperialism openly.

The people of the world now
Look towards People's China,
Towards the great red sun,
Towards Mao Tse-tung.

Comrade Mao,
Please continue to give
Leadership and guidance
To the people of the world
In their heroic struggle
To smash to smithereens
Vicious imperialism, reaction
And traitorous revisionism —
All monsters and evils
In our times.

We will certainly bury
All the evil systems that darken
And besmirch the history of mankind.

The earth will smile
Under the radiance of the great red sun.

Long live Chairman Mao!
Long live Mao Tse-tung's thought
That will shine red all over the world!
Long live the people of the world
Who will hold aloft the great red banner
In their march forward!

Far-Reaching Significance of the Thought on People's War

The Voice of Palestine has recently broadcast three successive items introducing and warmly praising the great thought of Chairman Mao on people's war. The Radio points out that this great thought is of far-reaching significance and is an irrefutable truth.

The radio says that the Palestinian people have carried on heroic struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction for scores of years. While summing up our own experience, we should earnestly learn the most valuable experience of the Chinese people summed up by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. We should bear them in mind and apply them to win victory in our struggle, it stresses.

In one item entitled "What Is the Basic Strategy and Tactics of People's War?" the Radio introduces in detail Chairman Mao's sixteen-character formula: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue." This item also says that Chairman Mao

has given a masterly summary of the strategy and tactics of people's war: "You fight in your way and we fight in ours; we fight when we can win and move away when we can't." The Palestinian people can learn this great thought of Chairman Mao through their own struggle, it adds.

In another item, the Radio introduces Chairman Mao's thought on building a people's army of a new type. It says: The Chinese revolutionary army was founded on its supreme commander Chairman Mao Tse-tung's line of army building. This is an entirely new type of army. It comes from the people and wholeheartedly serves the people. It is at the same time a fighting force, a political working force and a production corps. It wins the wholehearted support of the people.

In the third item, the Radio introduces Chairman Mao's thought on waging a people's war in any country by relying mainly on its own effort. It quotes many teachings of Chairman Mao and points out: "To persist in the policy of self-reliance is an ever powerful pillar in our own struggle. We should always keep this in mind."

Why We Must Emphasize Criticism and Repudiation Of That Component Part of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line — "Hitting Hard at Many In Order to Protect a Handful"

THE current extensive mass criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, comprises a most important and militant task: trenchant criticism and repudiation of their bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres — the line of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful." This matter must on no account be taken lightly.

The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, both big and small, have, on the one hand, pinned the label "counter-revolutionary" on some of the revolutionary masses and, on the other, "hit hard at many" cadres. Both these manoeuvres are designed to "protect the few." If we only criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line in relation to treatment of the masses but neglect criticism and repudiation of it in relation to cadres, penetrating and thorough criticism and repudiation of that reactionary line will not be possible. It will also be impossible to carry out thoroughly Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the cadre question — the line of "uniting with the majority and hitting hard at a handful." Furthermore, establishment of the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries, the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, victory in the struggle to seize power and efforts to "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production" will be seriously impeded and, finally, it will be impossible to strike down the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

To make revolution, we must rely on the masses. However, as Chairman Mao says: **"If the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level."** Experience has proved that without the participation of revolutionary leading cadres who are politically mature and experienced in struggle it would be impossible for the proletarian revolutionaries to win victory in the struggle to seize power and to establish a revolutionary, representative

"three-in-one" provisional organ of power with proletarian authority. Experience has also proved that the mass of revolutionary cadres are an important and indispensable force in the struggle to expose, criticize and repudiate the handful of revisionists and the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road who has supported this handful from behind. It must also be noted that unless this bourgeois reactionary line on the cadre question — "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful" — is thoroughly criticized and repudiated, it is impossible to get a clear understanding of how matters stand in relation to the cadres, and to know what to struggle against, to criticize and repudiate, and what to transform. Thorough criticism and repudiation of this bourgeois reactionary line is an important link in closely integrating the struggle to criticize and repudiate the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road with struggle, criticism, repudiation and transformation in one's own department.

The cadre question is, therefore, an important and crucial one in the struggle at the present time. Criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line on the cadre question — "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful" — is by no means to "shift the target"; it is, on the contrary, to strike directly at the target. It is closely related to the struggle to criticize and repudiate the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. These two things are certainly not what was described as "irrelevant."

It has always been the practice of the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road to take over and distort for their own purposes the revolutionary slogans put forward by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. They turn right into wrong, transpose black and white and shift the blame on to the revolutionaries. At this present moment, when our Party has initiated criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres, aren't there people who use this opportunity to clamour that the "revolutionaries have come to the fore by 'suspecting and overthrowing all indiscrimi-

nately"? Aren't there also people who are spreading around such nonsense as: "We followed the reactionary line of suppressing the masses, but you followed the reactionary line of hitting hard at the cadres. We protected a few, while you hit hard at many. So you are no better than we are." Such nonsense must be thoroughly refuted.

It is the handful of persons who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line and not others, who have advocated the indiscriminate exclusion and overthrow of all cadres. This is how they have always handled the cadre question. In criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres, the main target of our attack should be the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

The mass of proletarian revolutionaries have boundless love for the Party and Chairman Mao and a burning hatred for the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. Right from the start, the proletarian revolutionaries have "hit hard at a handful" and have certainly not "protected the handful." In a mass movement involving fierce struggles, proletarian revolutionaries may sometimes commit certain excesses or make this or that kind of mistake. However, this is essentially different from the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful." This brand of the bourgeois reactionary line cannot possibly be used against proletarian revolutionaries. Their criticism and repudiation of this reactionary line is fully justified!

In order to push through the reactionary policy on cadres, that of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful," the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, besides "going to selected primary units" and assuming direct command, took advantage of the masses' hatred of the handful of revisionists to propose slogans which are "Left" in form but Right in essence, did their utmost to spread among the masses the anarchist idea of "suspecting and overthrowing all indiscriminately," and used the masses to extend the front of attack. This is their chief and most sinister means of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful." This anarchist tendency is often reflected in the ranks of the revolution, thus hampering some people from boldly criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres. Proletarian revolutionaries must face this fact, make great efforts to study and apply Chairman Mao's works creatively, take a firm hold of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, relentlessly rid themselves of the concept of "self-interest," and thoroughly root out the influence of this anarchist tendency. The handful of persons who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line see the cadres as "one solid blotch," "rotten through and through." We must not allow such an utterly erroneous view to continue among proletarian revolutionaries. What we want is to seek truth from facts, make a class analysis and not prefer being "Left" to being Right.

The two important articles in this year's No. 5 issue of *Hongqi*, namely, "The Bourgeois Reactionary Line on the Question of Cadres Must Be Criticized and Repudiated" and "'Hit Hard at Many in Order to Protect a Handful' Is a Component Part of the Bourgeois Reactionary Line" [see *Peking Review*, No. 15] have won the warm support of the revolutionary masses and revolutionary cadres. This clearly demonstrates the mighty strength of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. However, there are a small number of people who, obsessed by anarchist thinking, fail to make a class analysis, fail to distinguish between the two classes [the proletariat and the bourgeoisie], the two roads [the road of socialism and the road of capitalism] and the two lines [the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line], and instead, lump people into "masses" and "people in authority." They maintain that they "should oppose whatever the people in authority support" and that "whenever cadres rise up, that means a restoration of capitalism." Therefore, they hold back in criticizing and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful." This is utterly wrong. Proletarian revolutionaries must resolutely defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the question of cadres, and stand up and boldly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line on this question. Only when the "many" are truly liberated in the course of struggle, can the "handful" be thoroughly isolated and overthrown. Only in this way will it be possible to finally smash the schemes of the "handful" to counter-attack and restore capitalism.

Thorough criticism and repudiation of the bourgeois reactionary line on the question of cadres must not be in words only but must be carried out in action. Proletarian revolutionaries should be models in thoroughly implementing Chairman Mao's policies on cadres.

The process of carrying out Chairman Mao's policies on cadres is a process of sharp and complicated class struggle. First of all, we must know how to judge cadres correctly. Chairman Mao teaches us: "**We must not confine our judgement to a short period or a single incident in a cadre's life, but should consider his life and work as a whole. This is the principal method of judging cadres.**" Proletarian revolutionaries must firmly grasp the weapon of class analysis in testing and judging cadres amid the great storms and waves of the struggle between the two lines. This cannot possibly be done by relying on just a few people engaged in compiling data. We should advocate the method of full and frank expression of views and opinions, of putting up big-character posters and of organizing great debates. We must boldly mobilize the masses to familiarize themselves with and discuss the life and work of each cadre thoroughly and to differentiate strictly between the two different kinds of contradictions [those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people themselves] so as to be able to reach a correct decision. Towards cadres

who have made mistakes, the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "curing the sickness to save the patient" must be carried out. They should be allowed to correct their errors and be encouraged to make amends for their crimes by good deeds, unless they are anti-Party, anti-socialist elements who persist in their errors and refuse to correct them after repeated education.

It must be recognized that in the struggle against the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road, the aims of the revolutionary cadres are identical with those of the revolutionary masses. The proletarian revolutionaries must "watch and help" those cadres who are willing to stand up to make revolution, warmly and with deep class feeling help them to keep abreast of the situation, patiently and actively support them in making their stand clear publicly and encourage them to go among the masses and undergo the test of struggle. Through struggle, we will gradually unite with more than 95 per cent of the cadres and concentrate our efforts on hitting hard at the handful of revisionists.

The revolutionary cadres must go among the masses and plunge into the great torrent of revolutionary criticism, repudiation and strive to perform new meritorious deeds, make new achievements and really win the confidence of the masses. They must not take a passive "wait-and-see" attitude, divorce themselves from struggle and "reflect on their misdeeds in private" according to the preaching of that book on "self-cultivation," hoping that some day they will suddenly be "liberated" and accepted into the "three-in-one" combination. Revolutionary cadres who really want to

make revolution must not be afraid of being attacked by the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road and by conservative forces of all sorts. They must stand firmly on the side of the proletarian revolutionaries and on the side of the young revolutionary fighters. They must carry on arduous ideological struggle and make revolution to the depth of their souls. All revolutionary cadres must undergo this test of their basic stand.

The genuine proletarian revolutionaries dare to break through, to act, to make revolution and to rise up in rebellion. They not only dare to "hit hard at a handful" but also dare to "liberate the many" and unite the majority. At present, in order to resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on the question of cadres and thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, the proletarian revolutionaries in many places have started heated studies and discussions and have truly gone into action. The task is stupendous and urgent.

Proletarian revolutionary fighters and revolutionary cadres! Let us raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and, in the revolutionary spirit of **seizing the day and seizing the hour**, thoroughly criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line of the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road on the question of cadres, the line of "hitting hard at many in order to protect a handful"! Let us unite the masses and the mass of cadres into a mighty revolutionary army and advance courageously along the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao!

("Renmin Ribao" editorial, April 24.)

"RENMIN RIBAO" COMMENTARIES

Futile "Joint Efforts"

The ruling Soviet clique of revisionists has of late been very thick with U.S. imperialism's puppets and pawns, big and small, in Asia. It has snared all those willing to be courted. The U.S. imperialists, instead of showing any sign of jealousy towards these goings-on of the Soviet revisionists, have winked approvingly. Why?

The report recently released by a U.S. Senate "fact-finding" mission makes things quite clear.

This "fact-finding" mission which went to Asia arrived at the conclusion, after a month's "investigation," that the United States should "involve the Soviet Union in joint efforts to develop and stabilize Asia rather than trying to curb Moscow's influence in the continent."

"Stability" here refers to U.S. imperialist oppression and enslavement of the Asian people, while "development" means expansion by its aggressive forces. In a word, what U.S. imperialism wants is to make "joint efforts" with the ruling Soviet revisionist clique

to stamp out the revolution raging in Asia and maintain the rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys in Asian countries.

At a time when U.S. imperialism is hopelessly bogged down in its war of aggression against Vietnam, the Soviet revisionist clique of renegades, playing the willing accomplice, is lending it a helping hand. What timely assistance for U.S. imperialism! Why should it possibly think of "curbing Moscow's influence"?

It is not only on the Vietnam question that the ruling Soviet revisionist clique is doing its best to aid and abet U.S. imperialism but it is also earnestly helping it to prop up the reactionaries of various countries. In India, for instance, the Soviet revisionists undertake to "aid" the "state-owned" enterprises while the U.S. imperialists go in for private investment. As to shouldering the burdens of supplying arms and donating food, the two share and share alike. Take another instance, Indonesia. Here, the Soviet revisionists supply more arms, while the U.S. imperialists dole out more dollars. Even the U.S. press has found no reason to hide the fact that, thanks to Soviet "military aid," U.S. "military

aid" for the Indonesian reactionaries is no longer urgent. There is such a harmonious partnership in collaboration and division of labour between the two that it well deserves being described as "joint efforts."

However, such counter-revolutionary "joint efforts" of the Soviet revisionists and U.S. imperialists are utterly futile. The Asia of today is no longer a continent where U.S. imperialism can do whatever it chooses. No efforts by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, plus the strivings of its No. 1 accomplice, can stem the revolutionary tide in Asia. Eventually, all these termites will be drowned together in the great revolutionary tide.

(April 19)

Factotums Into the Bargain!

How low can the Soviet band of revisionist renegades humble itself before the big bosses of U.S. imperialism! Its obsequiousness is clearly manifested even in small matters.

Last summer, this band of revisionists called off a Soviet-U.S. track and field meet in "protest" against indiscriminate U.S. bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. Then all of a sudden, nine months later, these renegades apologized and made amends, agreeing to pay the U.S. side 100,000 dollars as compensation and indicating their willingness to resume the "traditional" Soviet-U.S. track and field meet. They are factotums into the bargain!

In point of fact, the "protest" by the Soviet revisionists was merely a gesture, a sleight of hand. Was their collaboration with U.S. imperialism confined to a few track and field competitions? U.S. escalation of aggression and war against Vietnam has never hindered "all-round" Soviet "co-operation" and global collaboration with Washington. Even more, the United States has been bombing Hanoi and Haiphong, and the United States and the Soviet Union have conspired to push through feverishly the scheme of "forcing capitulation through bombing." How can cancellation of a track and field contest conceal the Soviet revisionists' partnership with U.S. imperialism?

The Soviet revisionists cancelled the meet last year in what they called a "protest" against the U.S. bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. This year, U.S. imperialism has not only continued but has even expanded such aggressive action. Yet the Soviet revisionists not only wish to resume the Soviet-U.S. track and field event but are even willing to recompense the United States in hard cash. Doesn't this add to the proof that their "protest" last year was humbug? The exhibition they made of themselves last year was absurd enough; the one this year was doubly so.

No one can avoid contradicting himself and opening himself to ridicule by pretending to be a revolutionary while engaging in counter-revolutionary activities, or by trying to pass for a hero while actually being a villain. Such is the disgraceful role played by the ruling Soviet revisionist clique. Its counter-revolutionary

nature makes it inevitable that it will unmask itself at crucial moments and show its true traitorous colours. The 100,000-dollar compensation and humiliating apology are only a side-show to its wholesale betrayal.

(April 24)

The Power of the Truth

To be deadly afraid of the spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought and to tremble with fear at the very sight of the red book, *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* — this is the common incurable disease afflicting both the U.S. imperialists and the ruling Soviet revisionist clique.

When a small group of Chinese students recited two quotations from Chairman Mao in Moscow's Red Square one day at the beginning of the year, the Soviet revisionist clique, frightened as if confronted by a mortal enemy, called out a swarm of secret police and thugs. They assaulted the students, trying to take away the red books from them.

There is nothing unique about this. Not too long ago, an American draftee was found with a copy of this book in his camp. Terror-stricken officers immediately had him discharged from military service and ordered a thorough search of the camp.

In appearance, U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are both colossuses. They have planes, guns and atom bombs as well as armies and police, secret agents and thugs, in addition to a whole set of bourgeois and revisionist "theories." Don't they always brag about their "might"? However, at the sight of this bright red book, they lost their nerve, became uneasy and panicked, showing their paper-tiger nature. This is a clear demonstration of the incomparable power of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung.

Why do U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism dread the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung* as the devil dreads the sun? The reason is very clear. U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism represent the moribund decadent forces. It is by oppressing and deceiving the people that they hope to maintain their rule. They are therefore most afraid of the awakening of the people of the world. The invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is the greatest revolutionary truth of the present era and the most powerful ideological weapon against imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. Once grasped by the people, Mao Tse-tung's thought becomes the mightiest material force by which to demolish the old world and build a new one. In that case, the reactionaries will be toppled from their thrones and their cannibal feast will come to an end. That is why U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism are trying so desperately to check the spread of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and why they are in such mortal fear of the *Quotations From Chairman Mao Tse-tung*.

But the U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists should remember this: they can seize and confiscate a

few copies of the *Quotations*, but they can never seize and confiscate Mao Tse-tung's thought in the minds of millions upon millions of people. The more they try to blockade or to disparage the great thought of Mao Tse-tung, the deeper it will go into the hearts of people, the more quickly the *Quotations* will pass from hand to hand to be cherished and studied, grasped and applied by millions upon millions, and the nearer they will be to their doom.

(April 26)

Disgraceful Performance

In attempting to cover up acts of betrayal and capitulation, the ruling Soviet clique of revisionists sometimes makes a show of filing "protests" with the United States for one thing or another, but it is merely for the sake of appearances. Afterwards, they apologize to the United States or simply cry quits or place the "protest" in the back of their minds, carrying on as usual with their traitorous and capitulationist undertakings without the slightest embarrassment. Such juggling has become second nature to the Soviet revisionists.

One recent instance of this kind of disgraceful performance took place during the "Women's Fifth World Basketball Championships" in Czechoslovakia.

The U.S. imperialist-controlled International Amateur Basketball Federation (F.I.B.A.) barred the

Democratic People's Republic of Korea from taking part in the tournament; but it allowed south Korea, a U.S. imperialist puppet, to parade on to the court and play in the competition on behalf of "Korea." At first, the Soviet revisionist clique hypocritically expressed "support" for the D.P.R.K. and lodged a "strong protest" with the F.I.B.A. However, 48 hours later, the Soviet team played against the south Koreans.

It is all too clear that the "protest" by the Soviet revisionist clique is a piece of hypocrisy designed to cover up its fraternization with that stooge of U.S. imperialism, the south Korean puppet clique. The gesture is "support" for the D.P.R.K., but it is simply a sell-out of the interests of the Korean people when it gets down to brass-tacks. The behaviour of this gang at the "Women's Fifth World Basketball Championships" is a vivid portrayal of a renegade, sham opposition but real capitulation to imperialism, and sham support but real betrayal of the Korean people.

The U.S. imperialists fully understand and appreciate these tactics. For the Yankees know that it is easier for the Soviet revisionists to achieve real capitulation and betrayal by some kind of seeming opposition and gesture of support. How else can this Soviet clique play the part which the U.S. imperialists only wish they could handle? This explains why the U.S. imperialists have never been annoyed by the "strong protests" and "firm denunciations" of their Soviet friends, but simply laugh them off.

(April 27)

THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 9.)

the symphonic work *Shachiapang*. These works on revolutionary themes, featuring worker, peasant and soldier heroes, not only have been enthusiastically welcomed by the masses throughout the country, but have also been highly appraised by revolutionary comrades and friends from all over the world.

These artistic achievements have been gained as a result of the implementation of Chairman Mao's principle of literature and art serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers, and his principle of weeding through the old to let the new emerge, putting emphasis on the present rather than the past, making the past serve the present and making foreign things serve China. They have been won through hard class struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on art and literature.

Many militant revolutionary songs and dances composed during the great cultural revolution have been performed. They show the revolutionary masses' boundless love and esteem for the great leader Chairman Mao.

Artists of the Chinese People's Liberation Army are entertaining the revolutionary masses with a suite of songs based on episodes from the Red Army's 12,500-kilometre Long March. This revolutionary epic warmly praises the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao, the courage and persistence of the Red Army and the hard-won victory of the Long March.

Films being shown are the full-length colour documentary *Chairman Mao Is the Red Sun in Our Hearts*—*In Celebration of the 17th Anniversary of the Founding of the Chinese People's Republic*, *Chairman Mao Reviews the Mighty Contingent of the Cultural Revolution for the Fifth and Sixth Times*, and *Chairman Mao*

Resolutely Supports the Revolutionary Rebels.

Chairman Mao Reviews the Mighty Contingent of the Cultural Revolution for the Fifth and Sixth Times shows Chairman Mao's meeting with the proletarian revolutionaries on October 18 and November 3, 1966, at Tien An Men Square. That was a trying period for the revolutionaries. The handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road were pushing the bourgeois reactionary line in an attempt to sabotage the cultural revolution by instigating the masses to fight each other and by encircling and suppressing the revolutionaries. Chairman Mao's meeting with three and a half million young revolutionaries at that critical time demonstrated his strongest support for them.

On May Day, the Ministry of Posts and Tele-Communications of the Chinese People's Republic issued a set of eight commemorative stamps,

"Long Live Our Great Teacher, Great Leader, Great Supreme Commander, and Great Helmsman Chairman Mao!"

Chou En-lai and Other Comrades Attend a Performance Of "Shachiapang"

Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng, Li Fu-chun, Chiang Ching, Hsiao Hua, Yang Cheng-wu and other comrades attended a performance of the revolutionary symphonic music *Shachiapang* which was pre-

sented by the Central Philharmonic Society on the evening of April 26.

Shachiapang is a work of symphonic music which belongs to the proletariat and the other working people. It is a shining example of the revolution in literature and art in accordance with Chairman Mao's instructions to make the old serve the present, make foreign things serve China and weed through the old to let the new emerge. The Central Philharmonic Society's performance received tremendous applause from the audience.

Chinese Air Force Downs Three U.S. Imperialist Warplanes

An air force unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army shot down a pilotless military reconnaissance plane of U.S. imperialism on April 29 somewhere over Kwangsi. The plane had intruded into China's air space for reconnaissance and provocation. On May 1, two intruding A-4B attack planes of U.S. imperialism were also shot down over Kwangsi. The heroic Chinese air force units had, within the short space of eight days, brought down five intruding U.S. imperialist warplanes. This is a tremendous victory for the great proletarian cultural revolution, for the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and for the immensely brilliant, great, and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party has issued orders commending the air force units concerned. The Commission's May 1 order pointed out that the successive victories scored by Chinese air force units had greatly raised the morale of the revolutionary people and punctured the arrogance of U.S. imperialism. The order extended the warmest congratulations to all the commanders and fighters who took part in the engagements. It added: "Recently, while steadily escalating its bombing of north Vietnam, U.S. imperialism has repeatedly sent military planes to intrude into China's air space in deliberate war

provocations. We must raise our vigilance and deal seriously with them. We hope you will hold still higher the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, vigorously give prominence to proletarian politics and

Strongest Protest Against U.S. Imperialist War Provocation

On May 2, four F-105 fighter planes of U.S. imperialism flagrantly intruded into China's air space over the southern part of Ningming County in the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and dropped several bombs, destroying a civilian house and three *mu* of cultivated land. When planes of the Chinese people's air force took to the air, the enemy planes fled in panic. A spokesman of the Chinese Ministry of National Defence angrily denounced U.S. imperialism for its frantic war provocation and expressed the strongest protest against it.

The spokesman pointed out that this serious war provocation took place after U.S. bandit aircraft had intruded into China's air space three times since April 24 and five U.S. planes had been shot down by Chinese air force units. He added: The U.S. Government has recently repeatedly sent military aircraft to carry out war provocations against

energetically revolutionize your thinking, earnestly sum up your experience, keep up your militancy, guard against arrogance and rashness, give full play to our style of fighting — courage in battle, no fear of sacrifice, no fear of fatigue, and continuous fighting — and win new and greater victories."

Renmin Ribao Commentator published an article on May 2 in congratulation of the victories. Commentator stressed: "We want to tell U.S. imperialism again in all seriousness: The 700 million Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army are invincible. The U.S. air bandits will certainly come to no good end if they should dare to continue to intrude into our air space. The Chinese people and the P.L.A. are waiting at all times with their iron fists for the U.S. aggressor bandits. We will strike hard at them whenever they come. If they should dare to come, we will see to it that they will never get away!"

China. This is premeditated, planned and carried out with definite purposes. U.S. imperialism has suffered disastrous defeats in its war of aggression against Vietnam, but, egged on and with co-ordinated action by the Soviet revisionist leading clique, it has not held its wild ambitions in check. It still wants to further spread its war of aggression against Vietnam and is plotting to extend its war of aggression to the whole of Indo-China and even China. We want to warn the U.S. aggressors sternly: Armed with the great, all-conquering thought of Mao Tse-tung, the 700 million Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army are invincible. You will meet with severe punishment if you should dare to continue to make trouble and carry out provocations.

On May 3, *Renmin Ribao* published the article "The Chinese People Are Not to Be Trifled With" by Commentator expressing firm support

for the protest and warning issued by the National Defence Ministry spokesman to U.S. imperialism.

Tanzania's National Day

Tanzanian Ambassador to China Eliel Paul Mwaluko gave a reception on April 26 to celebrate the third anniversary of the founding of the United Republic of Tanzania. Premier Chou En-lai was among those present.

In his speech, Ambassador Mwaluko described the achievements of the Tanzanian people in opposing imperialism and colonialism and in developing their national economy. He said that his country had taken a series of steps to win national economic independence and had promulgated policies to nationalize foreign enterprises. The Ambassador spoke of the friendly relations between China and Tanzania. He extended his greetings and congratulations to China's great proletarian cultural revolution and wished a long, long life to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman of the Chinese people.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi, in his speech, praised the Tanzanian people

who were marching forward by holding high the banner of national independence. He said that the Tanzanian people's determination to drive out imperialism and old and new colonialism and to realize complete independence and liberation was a historical trend which no force on earth could check.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi strongly condemned the Johnson Administration for further expanding its military adventure and accelerating its war "escalation" in Vietnam, and for continuing its "peace talks" fraud in collusion with the modern revisionists and the ghosts and monsters throughout the world. He pointed out that the "proposal" recently put forth by U.S. imperialism for a so-called "widening of the demilitarized zone by ten miles on either side" was an out-and-out fraud. The line between south and north Vietnam, he said, had long since been broken by U.S. imperialism, and the demilitarized zone had long since been utterly violated by it. The people in north Vietnam had the full right to support and aid their brothers in the south. U.S. imperialism would never succeed in its attempt to tie the

hands of the Vietnamese people by a so-called widening of the demilitarized zone, he declared.

The Vice-Premier also denounced the Indonesian Government which had recently taken a series of anti-China and anti-Chinese measures to deliberately sabotage Sino-Indonesian relations. He quoted Chairman Mao's teaching that "we will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack." He said that the Indonesian Government could not escape just punishment for its frantic anti-China activities.

Speaking of China's great proletarian cultural revolution, the Vice-Premier said that this great cultural revolution, led by the great leader Chairman Mao himself, was advancing victoriously. "After the great proletarian cultural revolution," he said, "a socialist China which will never change colour will carry out still more effectively the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, modern revisionism and reactionaries in all countries and give still more powerful support to the revolutionary people throughout the world, thus fulfilling still better our glorious internationalist duty."

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TWO REGULAR PROGRAMMES

Sundays — SELECTED READINGS FROM MAO TSE-TUNG'S WORKS

(rebroadcast on Wednesdays)

Saturdays — QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG

Daily English Language Transmissions

EAST AND SOUTH AFRICA

Peking Time	Local	Standard Time	Metre Bands
00:00-01:00	18:00-19:00 19:00-20:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury) (Dar-es-Salaam)	40,30
01:00-02:00	19:00-20:00 20:00-21:00	(Cape Town, Salisbury) (Dar-es-Salaam)	40,30
20:00-21:00		(East Pakistan)	
19:40-20:40		(Kathmandu)	
23:00-24:00	20:30-21:30	(Delhi, Colombo)	41,40,30,25
	20:00-21:00	(West Pakistan)	
	21:00-22:00	(East Pakistan)	
	20:40-21:40	(Kathmandu)	

WEST AND NORTH AFRICA

Peking Time	Local	Standard Time	Metre Bands
03:30-04:30	18:45-19:45 19:30-20:30 20:30-21:30 21:30-22:30	(Monrovia) (Accra, Freetown) (Lagos) (Cairo)	43,31,25
04:30-05:30	19:45-20:45 20:30-21:30 21:30-22:30	(Monrovia) (Accra, Freetown) (Lagos)	43,31,25

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Peking Time	Local	Standard Time	Metre Bands
16:30-17:30	18:30-19:30 20:30-21:30	(Aust.S.T.) (N.Z.S.T.)	25,19,16
17:30-18:30	19:30-20:30 21:30-22:30	(Aust.S.T.) (N.Z.S.T.)	25,19,16

EUROPE

Peking Time	Local	Standard Time	Metre Bands
04:30-05:30	20:30-21:30 21:30-22:30	(G.M.T.) (Stockholm, Paris)	47,45,42
05:30-06:30	21:30-22:30 22:30-23:30	(G.M.T.) (Stockholm, Paris)	47,45,42

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Peking Time	Local	Standard Time	Metre Bands
20:00-21:00	19:00-20:00 19:30-20:30 20:00-21:00 18:30-19:30	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok) (Singapore) (Saigon, Manila) (Rangoon)	252,224 32,31,25,19
21:00-22:00	20:00-21:00 20:30-21:30 21:00-22:00 19:30-20:30	(Western Indonesia, Bangkok) (Singapore) (Saigon, Manila) (Rangoon)	224,32 31,25,19

NORTH AMERICA (EAST COAST)

Peking Time	Local	Standard Time	Metre Bands
08:00-09:00	19:00-20:00	(E.S.T.)	19,16
09:00-10:00	20:00-21:00	(E.S.T.)	25,19,16
10:00-11:00	21:00-22:00	(E.S.T.)	25,19,16

SOUTH ASIA

Peking Time	Local	Standard Time	Metre Bands
22:00-23:00	19:30-20:30 19:00-20:00	(Delhi, Colombo) (West Pakistan)	41,40,30,25

NORTH AMERICA (WEST COAST)

Peking Time	Local	Standard Time	Metre Bands
11:00-12:00	19:00-20:00	(P.S.T.)	25,19,16
12:00-13:00	20:00-21:00	(P.S.T.)	25,19,16